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A Record of the Darker Races

ROY WILKINS, Managing Editor
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J. E. Spingarn *Dr. Louis T. Wright* *James Weldon Johnson* *Lewis Gannett* *Walter White*

Volume 42, No. 1 *Whole No. 289*

CONTENTS FOR JANUARY, 1935

Page

COVER
N.A.A.C.P. pickets at National Crime Conference, December 11, 1934.

PUBLIC ENEMY NUMBER ONE
A symposium on lynching by Oswald Garrison Villard, Fannie Hurst, James Weldon Johnson, Sherwood Anderson, Gertrude Atherton, and others 6

JUBILEE
A poem by Martha Ostenso..... 7

THE SHOE PINCHES MR. SAMUELS
A story by Annie Nathan Meyer..... 8

THE CIRCUS IS COMING
A cartoon by Jay Jackson from the Chicago *Defender* 9

THE COSTIGAN-WAGNER BILL
By Walter White..... 10

SCRIPTURE FOR LYNCHERS
Some adaptations by George S. Schuyler..... 12

"THIS IS HER FIRST LYNCHING"
A cartoon by Reginald Marsh from the *New Yorker* 13

SENTIMENT ON THE ANTI-LYNCHING BILL
What the Congressmen say..... 14

OUT OF THE KITCHEN
A sketch of Louise Beavers of the movies by Chauncey Townsend 15

EDITORIALS 16

PSYCHOLOGISTS ANALYZE NEAL LYNCHING. 18

FROM THE PRESS OF THE NATION..... 19

NATIONAL CHAMPION: KENTUCKY STATE
The football season is reviewed by William I. Gibson 20

ALONG THE N.A.A.C.P. BATTLEFRONT..... 26

TH' LAW
A cartoon by Jerry Doyle from the Philadelphia *Record* 27

LYNCHERS' RALLY SONG
A poem by Homer C. House..... 29

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NEXT MONTH

More letters from Congressmen about their attitude toward the Costigan-Wagner bill.

THE BIBLE IS NOT ENOUGH, information about missionaries and Africa, by S. P. James, M.D.

A NATIONAL ACADEMY OF LYNCHING, satire in the Westbrook Pegler manner, by L. Herbert Henegan.

BIG BUSINESS WANTS NEGRO DOLLARS, by James A. Jackson.

John P. Davis returns with another case study of NRA and wages for Negro workers, using the famous Southland company case as material.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Oswald Garrison Villard is an editor and publicist and a founder of the N.A.A.C.P. Fannie Hurst, Gertrude Atherton, Martha Ostenso and Pearl S. Buck are world-famous novelists. George Fort Milton is editor of the Chattanooga *News* and chairman of the Southern Commission for the Study of Lynching. W. E. Woodward is a novelist, historian and chairman of the Writers' League Against Lynching. James Weldon Johnson, author, lecturer, former N.A.A.C.P. secretary, is professor of creative literature at Fisk university. William Pickens is field secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. DuBose Heyward wrote "Porgy."

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THE COVER

Left to right: Roy Wilkins, George B. Murphy, Jr. (with back turned) of the *Afro-American's* Washington office; Edward P. Lovett, Mrs. Virginia R. McGuire, president of the District of Columbia N.A.A.C.P.; Charles H. Houston. Emmett Dorsey is in background with sign. The picture was snapped just before the patrol wagon drove up to take the four pickets to the police station. Mr. Houston, noting the approach of "the wagon," is withdrawing his movie camera to make a picture of the proceedings.

Public Enemy

That's what Oswald Garrison Villard calls the lynching mob. He and other eminent writers have their say here about America's infamous pastime

SOMETIMES I think that the difference between a human being and something else is the attitude that the former takes toward lynching. If he in the slightest way condones this horrible practice which so utterly disgraces the American flag, I know what I think of him; I know where he is to be placed. What other country that calls itself civilized permits its citizens to burn, brand, mutilate, and lynch another citizen whom they do not like or against whom unproved charges have been made.

How absurd it is for the government to be declaring that some gunman like Dillinger, or Pretty Boy Floyd is public enemy number one! It is utterly wrong. Public enemy number one is the lynching mob, and the lyncher in particular, and the newspaper editors, or clergymen, or public men who defend lynching. They strike a deadly blow at the Constitution every time they lynch, or condone lynching. They strike a similarly deadly blow at the government of the United States, its dignity, its good name, its authority. They strike at the fundamental foundation of any civilized society, which is law and order. The harm that they do so far transcends that done by a Dillinger or a Pretty Boy Floyd, as not to be worth comparing them. Instead of having the Department of Justice devoting its major energies to running down individual criminals, there is nothing that it needs to do so much as to devote every bit of the machinery that it has to the stopping of this lynching evil, for if it continues it will far more rapidly undermine government in America than can any possible aggregation of gunmen.

But the Department of Justice cannot interfere because of the lack of a Federal Anti-Lynching Law, it is said. Well, the latest Florida lynching gives it its opportunity, for there was kidnapping across the boundary of a state into another state before the crime was committed. Now we shall see how much the government means business. Mr. Roosevelt has sent hundreds of bills to Congress since he took office for this reform or that. Not one has dealt with a situation more terrible, more menacing, more degrading than that of lynching in America. Why does he not get behind the anti-lynching law? Is it because he is afraid of southern resentment? Well, the admirable outburst from southern men and women in regard to the Florida lynching ought to make him realize how the conscience of the best people of the South is now being stirred to deal with this horrible thing. Cannot someone see that he and Mrs. Roosevelt read the details of the public mutilation and torture of this human being? Surely if they do it must inflame them. They might ask Congress for the appropriation of a small part of the sum spent on one battleship to enable the government to stamp out this relic of barbarism. If the President does not we shall know that he puts ships above human rights and American decency.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

I was born and bred in the tradition of States Rights. I still hold that the state, in theory at least, is better qualified to understand and administer its own individual affairs than a federal government with a blanket policy for all. I maintain, however, that where the state fails to protect the citizen in certain of his fundamental rights, he should, as a citizen of the United States, be entitled to the ultimate protection of the federal government.

I am accordingly in favor of the passage of the Costigan-Wagner bill by the Seventy-fourth Congress.

It is my understanding that the provisions of this bill which is aimed to prevent lynching become operative only after the state has had full opportunity to accord its prisoner a fair trial, or, in the event of a lynching, to prosecute the murderers. I cannot imagine any fair-minded man, whether he be a Californian or a South Carolinian, resenting the intervention of the Federal Government in behalf of one of its citizens when the state has admittedly broken down in its task of guaranteeing him his constitutional rights.

DUBOSE HEYWARD

"Relic of Barbarism"

We must get rid of this relic of barbarism as a matter of self-respect.

As a civilized people we ought to be ashamed of ourselves, as a nation, when a lynching occurs. Yet it is even more shameful that we should permit a lynching to go unpunished.

Lynching is not merely cruel and brutal; it is cowardly, and a lynching mob is the most perfect example I know of cowardice in a mass.

Those who condone lynching—and even attempt to defend it—argue that its motive is a basic sense of justice, an outraged community rising in arms, and so on. It is nothing of the kind. The lynching spirit has nothing to do with justice, basic or otherwise. A lynching mob does not want justice; it wants blood. It is always composed of petty cowards who secretly long to torture and kill another human being, but have never had the courage to carry out their desires until they are collected in mass.

When a lynching goes unpunished in any community crime of all kinds, from small thieving to burglary and assault, increases in that area. The potential criminal sees with his own eyes that the courts are weak and piffling, and that crime goes unpunished, so he sets out to develop his own career. I have seen that happen. There was a lynching in the little South Carolina town where I was brought up as a boy, and nothing was done about it. Everybody in the place knew who the leaders of the mob were; they boasted publicly. Within six months there were three murders in the township, and we were drifting into savagery. It was an appalling record; nothing like it had ever happened before. The leading men of the community sent for a revivalist. He came and carried on a camp-meeting for four weeks. Most of the lynchers joined the church.

The Writers' League Against Lynching is trying to do its part toward action in Congress to make lynching a Federal offense. The Federal judiciary, and the whole panoply of Federal justice, has a long record for prompt and efficient action, and Federal justice is not likely to be swayed by sectional prejudices or by political aims.

W. E. WOODWARD

More Than Murder

One of the chief difficulties in the way of passing a federal anti-lynching law is the attitude of many members of Congress on the constitutionality of such a measure. These Congressmen either hold or hide behind the opinion that lynching is murder, and, therefore, the federal government has no more constitutional right to step into a state and punish lynching than it has to do likewise and punish murder.

The analogy beween murder and lynching is not a true one. Lynching is murder, but is also more than murder. In murder, one or more individuals take life, generally, for some personal reason.

Number One!

In lynching, a mob sets itself up in place of the state and acts in place of due processes of law to mete out death as a punishment to a person accused of crime. It is not only against the act of killing that the federal government should exercise its power, but against the act of the mob in arrogating to itself the functions of the state and substituting its actions for the due processes of law guaranteed by the Constitution to every person accused of crime. In murder, the murderer merely violates the law of the state. In lynching, the mob arrogates to itself the powers of the state and the functions of government. The Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill is aimed against lynching not only as murder, but as anarchy—anarchy which the states have proved themselves powerless to cope with.

Congress is faced with the duty both of guaranteeing to every citizen accused of crime a fair trial by due process of law and of blotting out the "Shame of America," the shame of being the only civilized country in the world, the only spot anywhere in the world, where such a bestial orgy as the recent lynching at Marianna could take place.

JAMES WELDON JOHNSON

"Our Wayside Trees Are Gibbets"

The tattoo mark of lynching which is ground deeply into the face of the United States is calamity.

It becomes grotesque to contemplate our country rising in righteous indignation against the atrocities tolerated by a Hitler, when hundreds of our own wayside trees are gibbets from which have dangled the broken necks of men who have been strung up there by the bestiality of unpunishable mobs.

It is only necessary to travel casually abroad in order to appreciate, to one's humiliation, the contempt with which our supine acceptance of the lynching of human beings is countenanced.

The history of lynching, in these United States of America, even with the declining rate of men whose necks, without benefit of trial, are cracked by rope, does not entitle us, while we tolerate it, to the respect of others, or to self-respect.

Specific Federal anti-lynching legislation is imperative to our national decency.

FANNIE HURST

President Roosevelt Says:

"In the other category, crimes of organized banditry, cold-blooded shooting, lynching and kidnaping have threatened our security.

"These violations of ethics and these violations of law call on the strong arm of government for their immediate suppression; they call also on the country for an aroused public opinion."

—Speech to opening of 73rd Congress, January, 1934.

JUBILEE

By MARTHA OSTENSO

Oh, the moon hangs low like a red tear now,
And the swamp is red with weeping,
For the dark blood is stilled 'neath the sycamore bough,
And the white blood is leaping.
The white blood leaps and roars like fire.
The red dawn makes the funeral pyre.

O Jubilee, tall and black and young!
He smiled at the lady, only.
He smiled, though he knew how the long moss swung,
And how the swamp is lonely.
He smiled at the lady of the deep, deep South,
He smiled at the lady with the painted mouth.
O Jubilee, tall and black and young!
He smiled at the lady, only.

From Two Senators

DEEP distress is being generally expressed by American citizens over recent revivals of lynch law barbarities in this country. It is once more shown that nothing short of national legislation can properly deal with these acts of recurring lawlessness. The present ability of peace officers when spurred to vigilance to promote or prevent lynchings is clear as day. While the federal bill against lynching was pending in the last session of Congress, months passed without a single lynching in the United States but with the adjournment of Congress without action on the measure such attacks on law and order were promptly renewed at the rate of more than one lynching a week. It is therefore inevitable that the anti-lynching bill which was endorsed by representatives of some forty million Americans and was favorably reported to the senate at the last session of Congress be again introduced and vigorously pressed for prompt enactment into law.

—EDWARD P. COSTIGAN

VIEWED even as disconnected cases, the lynchings perpetrated during the past two years have run the whole gamut of man's inhumanity to man. Dick Wilkerson was shot to death for the comparatively trivial offense of knocking a man down in a dance house brawl; Claude Neal, albeit the charges against him were most grave, was murdered in an orgy of torture that would have shocked the soldiers of the Inquisition; Norris Dendy lost his life because he typified the remarkable progress of his race since its day of bondage; and Cordie Cheek was ignominiously hanged after his innocence of crime became so transparent that a grand jury refused to indict.

But these separate threads of infamy gain their full and tragic import only when woven into the pattern of lynching at large. When mass brutality is made a festive occasion, the minds and hearts of the young and the innocent are filled with venom; when primitive injustice is meted out chiefly to a single race, the fair shield of political equality is sullied and warped; even the hand of Justice becomes palsied in the courtroom when Judge Lynch waits on the courthouse steps.

The plea that the lynching problem can be solved by local authority alone

(*Continued on page 22*)

The Shoe Pinches Mr. Samuels

By Annie Nathan Meyer

Years ago, the foes of lynching pointed out that no one could remain indifferent to the evil simply because the victims were confined to the Negro race. They predicted that the day would come when mobs would become color blind and that the lynching spirit would run riot and attempt to supplant the law in the settlement of every kind of dispute. This story illustrates that point

THE congregation of Petach Shamayim (Gates of Heaven) shivered deliciously in their seats. Those who were for their Rabbi were uneasy, fearing that this time he had gone too far. Those who were against him, calling him "sensational" and a "publicity hound" wore satisfied expressions, knowing they would soon have their way, seeing in his place, a nice, comfortable, older man, one who would give them the kind of sermons their fathers had heard before them. Sermons inspired by the Bible, not by the daily press. Sermons which told of those old Patriarchs who lived closer to God than our generation does, who heard His commands, who were guided by a cloud of smoke by day and a pillar of fire by night.

David Uhlmann three years before, at the age of twenty-eight, had come to this large and influential congregation in one of the more bustling, industrial towns of the South, in an aura of fame as one of the most eloquent and promising young divines of his generation; and although the congregation had been promptly divided into those who were for him or against, no one had found him dull, and many were really at bottom in a state of dubiety, being, it is true, a little timorous of his plain speaking, yet at the same time not a little pleased and flattered by the amount of space which the papers gave his sermons, and, ,of course, all were enormously delighted at the beautiful place of worship which had arisen through their Rabbi's efforts in the very midst of the depression when values had gone tumbling and panic had seized the heart of the prosperous.

Now it is all very well to frown on wrong-doing and smile on virtue. Such is clearly the function of a rich and influential congregation such as Petach Shamayim. There had been some grumblings at the Rabbi's bitter comments on various happenings that had taken place in the South, but after all the responsibility had not come too close to them. But this was something different. He was denouncing in flaming words the men and women of their own town—the people they met daily on the streets—the people whom they sometimes, though infrequently, met in their own homes.

No one seated among the rich, red cushions was more jubilant than the President of the congregation, the Hon. Josiah Samuels. Two years before, when they had renewed the Rabbi's contract, he had warned them that they were harboring a "Red." No two persons among them would have defined the term in precisely the same words, nevertheless it was a convenient appellation to describe all those whose preachments rendered other people uncomfortable.

The truth was, of course, that Rabbi Uhlmann was neither a Communist, nor even a Socialist. Yet he was sufficiently naive to believe that he was justifying the unheard-of sacrifices of his mother in the furtherance of his career, by commenting on the struggle of today's proletariat to win safety and security, rather than upon the trials and tribulations of those who had labored three thousand years ago. He was so mistaken as to consider it his duty to describe the obstinacy and stiff-neckedness of the great industrial potentates of today, rather than to dwell upon the hardness of the heart of Pharoah.

He scorned the safety that lay in confining himself to the reading of the Law—the Torah—and its exegesis—the Talmud. Just as he also scorned those would-be Saviours-of-our-Country whose mentality boggled at any inspiration later than the Declaration of Independence (the implications of which they never for a moment suspected) or the Constitution of the United States, with infrequent incursions into the Gettysburg Address or the Diary of George Washington.

There were those among the congregation who ascribed the antagonism of their President to their Rabbi, simply to the display of the opposite emotion on the part of Judy, his pretty and highly cultivated daughter. It was generally known that her father had other and more ambitious plans for his only child. But however sucessfully the Hon. Josiah rationalized his antagonism (which he would have been the last one to deny) into simply his disapproval of so instable and notoriety-seeking a son-in-law, deep down in the inner recesses of his being, he knew that the source of his irritation lay neither in the state of his daughter's emotions, nor in the nature of David's opinions, but in the fact that the young Rabbi had succeeded in erecting their new temple while he, himself, had failed. Here was this young whippersnapper who probably in his entire life never had seen a bill of a higher denomination than twenty dollars, this impracticable dreamer schooled in Rabbinical lore, but absolutely innocent of the laws of finance, actually persuading people to give of their wealth when he, president of the Security Bank, vice president of the Chamber of Commerce, treasurer of the Community Chest and owner of the largest drygoods store in the state, had been unable to do so!

THE occurrence which had occasioned the Rabbi's denunciation, and the triumph to irradiate the features of the Hon. Josiah Samuels was the lynching of a particularly decent and self-respecting Negro in their own town, and participated in by its "leading citizens."

Uhlmann had known this Negro personally, had sympathized with his ambition to better himself, and admired the quiet dignity and persistence with which he went about it. He had purchased recently a plot of land in a part of the town where the property owners had sworn individually and collectively to keep out the adjacent horde of "darkies" whom they looked upon as an imminent threat. He had built a home on this plot of land which was in perfect taste, both inside and out, and finally, in the face of dire threats, relying both upon his own excellent rifle and the assurance of protection on the part of the police, he had moved into his new home, and had slept there with his wife and his children a couple of nights before the tragedy took place.

When the mob had appeared before his door, the Negro had acted under the absurd notion that any man is justified in shooting in defence of his home. A futile gesture, certainly, for an hour later the home was but a blackened ruin, while various members of his family were hiding in cellars and cupboards among the braver of their relatives and friends.

Before they lit the bonfire piled at his feet, they informed him that he had brought it all upon himself.

"If you hadn't been so damned uppity as to move where you knew you weren't wanted!"

"I paid for the land in good money" was his answer, "why did Jones sell to me if I wasn't supposed to build?"

Why indeed? But the crowd was in no mood to exact punishment upon one of their own. It meant little or nothing to them that one of the superior white race had shown the white feather and broken faith with them; they were out to "get a nigger" and a "nigger" they would "get."

"We ain't a goin' to let a lot of damned niggers run this town."

"Who wants a lot of damned niggers for neighbors?"

"We'd run you out of town and let it go at that, but you shot Nick Mason and you're going to swing for it!"

And so one more black man paid to the last gasp of his agony the penalty for asserting his manhood.

And what had been done about it? A whitewashing investigation involving obvious perjury on the part of sheriff and police. A handful of indignant liberals sent fiery protests to various editors, a few of which were printed. A couple of ringing editorials denounced the outrageous incident, but on the whole the press of the North treated that part of the country which lies below the Mason and Dixon line as one treats a

(*Continued on page* 24)

THE CIRCUS IS COMING

Courtesy Chicago Defender

The Costigan-Wagner Bill

By Walter White

Foes of mob law are engaged in the second major attempt in twelve years to secure the enactment of a law making lynching a federal offense. Mr. White, the executive secretary of the N.A.A.C.P., who has investigated personally forty-one lynchings, many of them at the risk of his life, outlines here the campaign for the passage of the Costigan-Wagner bill

PROMPTLY upon the convening of Congress on January 3rd, Senators Edward P. Costigan of Colorado and Robert F. Wagner of New York will reintroduce in the Senate their bill to make lynching a federal offense. The bill will be reintroduced in the House by Congressman Thomas F. Ford of Los Angeles.

Developments since Congress adjourned without voting on the bill in June, 1934, have given whatever proof was needed that there can be no end to lynching unless there is federal legislation. The perverted and fiendish mutilation of Claude Neal at Marianna, Florida, late in October, revealed as few other lynchings in the history of the United States have that there are states in America where it is useless to expect any effective action against lynching by local authorities. At the date of writing, the lynching record for 1934 lends striking affirmation to the contentions of the supporters of the Costigan-Wagner bill. Of seventeen lynchings, two occurred early in January. Then there was a complete cessation of lynching until it was evident, in June, that Congress would adjourn without voting on the bill. Fifteen lynchings, among them the one widely advertised in advance at Marianna, occurred between June and the end of November.

Endorsed by 42 Million

There have been within recent months significant changes in the general attitude towards federal legislation against lynching. In October the Triennial Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, at its meeting in Atlantic City, New Jersey, voted by an overwhelming majority to support federal action. It is exceedingly significant that the movement for this resolution was led by bishops and laymen from southern states, including Mississippi, South Carolina, North Carolina and Alabama. In October the American Federation of Labor, at its San Francisco convention, for the first time voted active endorsement and support of the Costigan-Wagner bill. Organizations with a total membership of more than forty-two million have now endorsed the bill, as follows:

The Young Women's Christian Association; Young Men's Christian Association; Writers' League Against Lynching; City-Wide Forum of Baltimore, Maryland; Maryland Anti-Lynching Federation; Congregational Commission on Lynching; Committee on Race Relations of the Society of Friends; the Federal Council of Churches; the League for Industrial Democracy; the Church League for Industrial Democracy; the Fellowship of Reconciliation; the Josephite Order of Baltimore, Maryland; American Civil Liberties Union; National Urban League; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; the Methodist Federation of Social Service; the Interdenominational Preachers Meeting of New York and Vicinity; Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Women's Missionary Council of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South; Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.; Social Justice Commission of the Central Conference of American Rabbis; National Student Council of the Y.W.C.A.; Public Affairs Committee of the Y.W.C.A.; American Federation of Teachers; Winter Capital Lodge of Elks, New Orleans, La. (Winter Capital Lodge No. 595, I.B.P.O.E.W. signers of petition); Oakland (California) Council of Church Women; Colored Methodist Episcopal Church; Twenty-second District Republican Club of New York; Hartford (Connecticut) Federation of Churches; City Council of Cleveland, Ohio; Holy Name Society of Our Lady Queen of the Angels Church, Newark, New Jersey; Nashville (Tennessee) Pastors Association; New York State Assembly; Indiana State Assembly; City Council of Duluth, Minnesota; Toledo (Ohio) Council of Churches; Unity Circle of the First Unitarian Church, Des Moines, Iowa; Chicago Committee on Anti-Lynching Legislation; Protestant Episcopal Church; New Jersey State Legislature; International Youth Movement; El Paso (Texas) Woman's City Government Club; Congregational and Christian Churches; New York City Congregational Church Association; Chautauqua Circle, Atlanta, Georgia; National Association of Colored Women; National Baptist Convention; American Federation of Labor, at San Francisco Convention.

Opponents Have Shifted

Opponents of the bill also have shifted somewhat in their opposition. There are those who honestly question the constitutionality of a federal law against lynching. Most of this opposition is based upon the contention that punishment for lynching is exclusively the function of the state in that lynching is murder and nothing more. But as James Weldon Johnson rightly pointed out in an article in *Current History* in 1930, lynching is murder—and *more than murder* in that the mob sets itself up as judge, jury and executioner and flouts all orderly processes of law. Under the new concept of the Federal Constitution as being a living document rather than a dead and unchangeable instrument, more and more recognition is being given to the fact that the federal government has equal responsibility with the state in assuring to citizens equal protection of the laws, and that the federal government not only has the right but the obligation to supply that margin of protection which the individual states either cannot or will not supply.

What the Bill Provides

In order that there may be as widespread understanding of the provisions of the Costigan-Wagner Bill as possible we give here a summary of the principal features of the measure:

For the purposes of this Act, the phrase "mob or riotous assemblage," . . . shall mean an assemblage composed of three or more persons acting in concert, without authority of law, to kill or injure any person, with the purpose or consequence of depriving such person of due process of law or the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. Failure, neglect or refusal to protect an individual against a mob is deemed denial of due process of law and the equal protection of the laws of the State.

Section 3. (a) Failure on the part of any local or state officer charged with the duty to protect an individual in his custody from injury or death, or to apprehend, keep in custody or prosecute any mob member is held to be a felony, punishable by a fine not exceeding $5,000 or by imprisonment not exceeding five years, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

(b) Any local or state officer who conspires with a member of a mob to injure or put a prisoner to death without authority of law, or who suffers such prisoner to be taken from his custody to be injured or put to death shall be guilty of a felony, and

those who so conspire with such officer shall likewise be guilty of a felony. On conviction the parties participating therein shall be punished by imprisonment of not less than five years or more than twenty-five years.

Section 4. Gives jurisdiction to the District Court of the United States judicial district wherein the person is injured or killed by a mob to try and punish in accordance with the laws of the State all persons who participate therein: Provided, state officers have failed to apprehend, prosecute, or punish such offenders; or (2) that jurors are so opposed to such punishment that there is probability that those guilty will not be punished in such State court. Failure to act within thirty days after the offense, to apprehend, indict or prosecute shall constitute prima facie evidence of the failure, neglect or refusal described.

Section 5. County liability. Injured person or legal representatives may recover from $2,000 to $10,000 from the county involved in civil action against such county in the U. S. District court in whose jurisdiction the person is injured or killed. Prosecution by the U. S. District Attorney. Where the county fails to pay the judgment, the court has jurisdiction to enforce payment by levy of execution upon property of the county or may otherwise compel payment by mandamus or other appropriate process. Failure of any officer to comply with any lawful order of the court in the premises shall be liable to punishment for contempt and to any other penalty provided by law therefor. The amount recovered is exempt from claims of creditors and shall be paid to the injured person or his heirs.

Section 6. Where the victim has been transported from one county to another county, both counties shall be jointly and severally liable to pay the forfeiture. Any district judge of the U. S. District Court concerned may direct that the prosecution be tried in whatever place he designates in such district.

Section 7. If any provision, sentence or clause of this Act or the application thereof to any person or circumstances, is held invalid, the remainder of this Act, and the application of such provision to other persons or circumstances, shall not be affected thereby.

What Must Be Done

In the Seventy-third Congress, which adjourned in June, 1934, the campaign for the bill had resulted in fifty-four votes assured for the bill in the Senate, and also an overwhelming majority in the House of Representatives. As 1935 is *not* an election year the fight for the bill will be more difficult. Perhaps, however, the increased support, as represented by the Protestant Episcopal Church, the American Federation of Labor and other groups which have become aroused since Congress adjourned last June, added to the country-wide revolution against the coldblooded lynching at Marianna, will more than offset this.

A very great deal depends upon the attitude and action of two men—one of them President Roosevelt and the other Senator Joseph T. Robinson ot Arkansas, majority leader. If the President puts the Costigan-Wagner bill on his "must" program of legislation in his opening address to Congress, the bill will almost surely pass. No possible excuse can be concocted for failure of the Democratic party to pass the bill at the 1935 session. The Democratic landslide of November made it possible for passage of the bill without the vote of a single senator or representative from the Solid South. The administration can muster 47 Democratic votes in the Senate and 222 Democratic votes in the House. Eleven Republican, Progressive and Farmer-Labor senators have already pledged themselves to vote for the bill. These, with the 47 Democratic votes in the Senate, give the administration an overwhelming majority in the Senate; and the Republican votes already assured in the House, added to the 222 Democratic votes, creates a similar majority in the House. It is not certain, however, that there may not be Democratic votes for the bill in at least border states due to the remarkable and vigorous support of federal anti-lynching legislation by such groups as the Women's Missionary Council of the Methodist Church, South, and many members of such organizations as the Y.W.C.A.

Much depends also upon the majority leader. It is reported in Washington that Senator Robinson bitterly opposed placing the Costigan-Wagner bill on the Senate calendar for debate and vote in the Seventy-third Congress. Perhaps he will continue to do so in the Seventy-fourth Congress. But, as majority leader, Senator Robinson of necessity must think not only of his party in his own state of Arkansas, but as well of the political consequences to the Democratic party throughout the country if as majority leader he continues to refuse even to permit a vote. Interested persons, by telegrams, letters, petitions, postal cards and in other ways should urge not only that President Roosevelt insist upon passage of the bill but also should urge upon Senator Robinson as majority leader that he place the bill on the calendar at the earliest possible time for debate and vote.

Each individual interested should write to the two senators and to the congressmen from his state. If you do not know the full names of your senators and congressmen your local newspaper can give this information to you. Senators should be addressed at the Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C., and congressmen at the House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Organizations to which an individual belongs—church, fraternal, political and social—should be urged to pass resolutions and send messages to the President, Senator Robinson and to the senators and congressmen from your district.

Meetings should be organized at which opportunity should be given to those present to send telegrams or messages to these individuals.

Funds Needed

Letters should be written to your local newspapers during the various stages of the fight for the bill. Your local papers should be urged to carry full accounts of the fight for the bill and the debate in the Houses of Congress. They also should be urged to give editorial support to the bill.

A sincere and interested woman in Ohio told me during the last fight that "people get tired of writing letters and sending telegrams." We can well understand such a feeling. But elected officials are always responsive to the wishes of their constituents and there is as yet no more effective way of letting elected officials know what those upon whom these officials are dependent for reelection want than through the medium of telegrams, letters and other communications. Thousands of pieces of mail go daily to the White House. Neither the President nor any other human being could read all the letters written to the President, but a record is kept of the number of messages for and against given measures and this barometer of public opinion is far from being without influence.

Finally, such a struggle requires money for printing, postage, meetings, telephone and telegraph and traveling expenses. The N.A.A.C.P. has published the full text, with illustrations, of the investigation of the Marianna

(*Continued on page 29*)

Detailed Information on Federal Bill

For additional information specifically upon the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill, interested persons may write the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., asking for copies of the hearings before a sub-committee of the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate.

The hearings are in two volumes, Part 1 and Part 2. In these hearings are included statistics and information on lynching; the testimony and statements of some 50-odd witnesses before the committee; a statement by Senator Wagner and Senator Costigan; and the full brief in support of the constitutionality of the bill by Charles H. Tuttle, Esq. of New York. Mr. Tuttle's brief is in Part 2.

The prices of the two pamphlets are: Part 1, 15 cents and Part 2, 10 cents. Government printing regulations require payment with order.

Scripture for Lynchers

By George S. Schuyler

"A recent survey of the county shows that between 75% and 80% of the citizens . . . belong to . . . church. Revivals are always eagerly and well attended."

Claude Neal Lynching Report, P. 7

GENESIS

CHAPTER I

IN the beginning God created white men and women, and the Negro was an afterthought.

2. And society was without form and void because there was freedom.

3. And the white folks said "Let there be slavery": and there was slavery.

4. And they became the lords and the Negroes the chattels.

5. And they called the whites good and the blacks they called bad.

6. And the slaves brought forth progeny and profits.

7. And they were of good value and so preserved.

CHAPTER II

THEN brother disputed brother about each his share.

2. And they strove against each other, and smote each other mightily.

3. And as they fought, Lo! and Behold! Miracle of miracles, the black man again was free.

4. And he walked upon the earth in manly fashion, thrusting aside his shackles and speaking boldly.

5. And the white folks were sorely tried, rending their robes in lamentation, for the blacks were now without value.

6. And the freedmen stiffened their necks and hardened their hearts, refusing to labor without coin.

CHAPTER III

NOW it came to pass that the Serpent Terror spake unto the whites and gave them knowledge.

2. And then did they harry and smite the blacks; that freedom might end and profits flow.

3. And this was called lynching.

THE LYNCHER'S PRAYER

OUR fodder which are in Dixie,
Sambo be thy name.
Thy time has come, to broil 'til done,
In Texas as in Mississippi.
Give us this day our daily death;
Provide us amusement in agony as in buffoonery.
Lead us not into sympathy, but deliver us from penitence,
For thine is the torture, the noose and the faggot,
For ever and ever, Amen.

ONWARD CHRISTIAN LYNCHERS

HYMN OF THE MOB

ONWARD Christian Lynchers,
Through the church's door;
Lay aside your bibles
While we cook this Moor.
We've the sheriff's blessings,
So don't fear the law;
Burn this darky to a crisp
Then go and get his maw.
Don't forget your shotgun,
Bring your case knife sure
If you can't get six toes,
Be content with four.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO JUDGE LYNCH

(PSALM 23)

THE Coon is our victim; we shall not want.

2. We pursueth him across the green pastures; we followeth him beside the still waters.

3. He restoreth our spirit: he transporteth us with joy as he whimpers.

4. Yea, though we announce his torture, we shall fear no penalty: for sheriffs and governors art with us; the Federal approval comforteth us.

5. We prepareth a bonfire in the presence of multitudes; we anointeth his clothes with oil, and sever with swords his extremities.

6. Surely, immunity shall be our portion all the days that we lynch: and we will dwell amid savagery forever.

"A Hideous Crime"

I have received the literature which you so kindly sent me on lynching. I want to thank you very much and tell you that I wish we could do something in the matter over here, but I think it rests more with the white women of America to get up a crusade against such a *hideous* crime.

(Lady) KATHLEEN SIMON
London

Persons Have Been Lynched For These "Crimes"

Enticing a servant away
Illicit distilling
Window peeping
Criminal abortion
Writing insulting letters
Expressing sympathy with murder of white man
Expressing sympathy with alleged rapist lynched
Slapping a child
Vagrancy
Prospective elopement
Colonizing Negroes
Conjuring
Knowledge of larceny
Violation of a contract
Disobeying ferry regulations
Miscegenation
Incendiarism
Testifying against whites
Protecting a Negro
Passing counterfeit money
Jilting a girl
Fraud
Asking a white woman in marriage
Using offensive language
Bad reputation
Conspiracy
Drunkenness
Introducing smallpox
Stealing hogs
Found under bed in white man's house
Not turning out of road for white boy in auto
Talking about Chicago riot
Expressing himself too freely about a lynching
Leader among Negroes
Circulating incendiary literature
Seditious utterance
Member of the Non-Partisan League
Insanity
Relative of a lynched man
In 4th of July celebration
Automobile accident
Frightening children
Remaining in town where Negroes not allowed
Scaring a white woman
Being in the company of a murderer
For escorting his mother to town after her flogging by mob
Being acquitted of murder
Activity in politics
Not stopping automobile when ordered
Planning suit against white man
Creating disturbance
Non-union worker

The states have not stopped lynching. Federal action is needed.

"THIS IS HER FIRST LYNCHING" *Courtesy The New Yorker*

Sentiment on Anti-Lynching Bill

SENATE

Replying to your letter of November 14th, will say that the anti-lynching bill has had my very best support ever since it was introduced in the Senate, and I will take great pleasure in again doing everything I possibly can to secure prompt passage of the measure when it is re-introduced by Senators Costigan and Wagner. I think it is one of the most meritorious measures before Congress.

ARTHUR CAPPER, Kansas

Replying to your letter of November 14th, will say that I will not assume my duties as Senator from Ohio until January 3rd. I know precious little about the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill but expect to inform myself when I assume my duties. Naturally, I am against lynching anywhere or any time.

VIC DONAHEY, Senator-elect, Ohio

I have your letter of the 14th inst., relative to the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill. In reply, beg to say, that I was in favor of this measure when it was before Congress at the last Session.

JOHN G. TOWNSEND, JR., Delaware

I am heartily in favor of the enactment of anti-lynching legislation, and will do everything I can to have a satisfactory measure passed at the forthcoming session of Congress. I believe such a bill to be of vital necessity, and I shall work industriously for its passage.

W. WARREN BARBOUR, New Jersey

Upon my return here today from a speaking trip in Texas I find your letter of November 14, asking whether or not I favor the passage of the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill.

I am not in favor of the passage of that bill, believing that the subject-matter can be best handled by the states.

MORRIS SHEPPARD, Texas

I shall support the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill.

ELBERT D. THOMAS, Utah

As soon as I get back to Washington I will look up the bill to which you refer and you may be sure that I will give it sympathetic and interested consideration.

WARREN R. AUSTIN, Vermont

This bill was reported to the Senate by the Judiciary Committee but was never taken up on the floor of the Senate and for that reason, I am not familiar with it. I am, of course, earnestly against lynching but I am unable to commit myself to any specific bill until it has been fully debated on the floor of the Senate.

JAMES COUZENS, Michigan

Many senators and representatives could not be reached by The Crisis right after the November 6 elections, but here are some of the replies received to our question on support of a federal anti-lynching bill. Are your representatives's names written here?

I am not certain that I know what the provisions of the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill are but certainly I should be in favor of anything that would aid in any way in suppressing the horrible crime of lynching.

DANIEL O. HASTINGS, Delaware

As chairman of the sub-committee of the judiciary committee of the Senate which had charge of the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill, I want to assure you that I am still much interested in the enactment of this proposed bill into law. We had extended public hearings of the sub-committee which have become valuable records for the guidance of Congress. This is one of the bills in which I propose to take a very active interest, and sincerely hope that the coming session of Congress will enact this proposed legislation. I hope to be of valuable assistance in obtaining this result.

FREDERICK VAN NUYS, Indiana

Only One-Sixth of Lynchings for Rape

It is frequently asserted and generally believed that rape is the principal cause of lynching, and it is implied that if the molestation of women ceased, mob murders would cease.

In his "Lynching and the Law" Prof. James H. Chadbourn of the University of North Carolina declares that "Alleged rape is given as the offense in only one-sixth of the cases."

In his "The Tragedy of Lynching," Dr. Arthur Raper of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Atlanta, Ga., declares "less than one-sixth (Negroes lynched from 1889 through 1930) were accused of rape."

The states have not stopped lynching. Federal action is needed.

Thank you for your letter of November 14 regarding the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill which will be re-introduced in the 74th Congress. I favor enactment of this measure. I can see no reason why the colored race is not entitled to the same consideration in our courts as is given to the white race. Regardless of the offense that may be alleged any free man is entitled to impartial adjudication of his guilt or innocence.

J. P. POPE, Idaho

I never read of a lynching without being deeply shocked. I will gladly support any movement that will put an end to these atrocities. While I have not had an opportunity to study fully the Costigan-Wagner bill, it seems to offer a way to aid in suppressing lynchings.

JOSEPH F. GUFFEY, Pennsylvania

HOUSE

Answering your letter of November 14, let me say that as the author of the anti-lynching law passed in Minnesota about fifteen years ago, I shall, of course, support the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill in the coming session of Congress. Lynching is one of the blots upon the national life, and I shall do my best to see that it is eliminated.

THEODORE CHRISTIANSON, Minnesota

Your letter of November 14th just reached me today and I favor the adoption of the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill.

A. J. SABATH, Illinois

I have your letter of the 14th. I shall be glad to support any legislation directed at the eradication of the crime of lynching, as I have done in the past.

J. WILL TAYLOR, Tennessee

I strongly disapprove of individuals or groups of individuals taking the law into their hands for enforcement. I don't care whether it's the destruction of property or the destruction of human life, it should be stopped at all costs and those responsible punished.

I believe that the mob of citizens who willfully, maliciously and unlawfully destroy property or human life should be, first, punished by the state where the offense is committed, and if for any reason that state is unable or unwilling to act, then, if it is constitutionally possible, the Federal Government should have the right to act.

JAMES R. CLAIBORNE, Missouri

Replying to your letter of the fourteenth I wish to state that I most certainly favor passage of the Costigan-

(*Continued on page* 25)

Out of the Kitchen

By Chauncey Townsend

"TURN this way, Miss Beavers please."

"Now turn the other way."

"Now, smile and walk toward the camera—slowly."

The scene is taking place on sound stage No. 8 at Universal Pictures studios, near Hollywood.

Against the background of a make-believe drawing room, Louise Beavers is making tests for a picture.

Like a mannequin in a dressmaker's shop, she spins around in the middle of the stage, first one way, then the other, in the luminous glare of bright, kleig lights.

A camera, propped in the middle of the floor, grinds slowly. With a grace which belies her proportions, she approaches it unabashedly. Her smile is restrained just enough to not make her look silly. It is at once infectious and expressive of a warm cordiality which completely disarms you.

It is with just such grace and naturalness that Louise Beavers lives and works. She is always herself. She is always the same. Her success in "Imitation of Life," from the novel by Fannie Hurst, has not "gone to her head," although it lifted her from a position of a "bit player" to that of an actress of the first rank, and brought her encomiums of admiration which few Negro performers have ever received.

Her performance in the picture justified the belief of Director John M. Stahl that, out of twenty others considered for the part, Miss Beavers was the most suitable person to play the role. Although the role was the most difficult in the picture, Miss Beavers enacted it in a manner which provoked critics to declare her performance "one of the most unprecedented personal triumphs for an obscure player in the annals of a crazy business." Everyone who sees "Imitation of Life" will agree that Miss Beavers "steals" the picture, even though two of filmland's best box office bets—Claudette Colbert and Warren William—are in the cast with her.

That such a triumph should come to Miss Beavers demonstrates that a level head, a firm belief in one's own possibilities, and a willingness to accept small, inconsequential parts and enact them well are necessary to climb from the level of mediocrity to a place of more than ephemeral distinction in motion pictures.

Worked as Maid

Ten years ago, she was a maid in a Hollywood studio. Her debut in pictures came as a maid. She proved to be so convincing as a maid in pictures that for many years she played this role before the camera so often that any scene demanding a maid, regardless of what producer made it, lacked verisimilitude unless Miss Beavers played the part. As the years rolled on, she began to be selected for the role as systematically as the late Theodore Roberts was selected to play roles of the indulgent father, or as Louise Closser Hale was selected to play parts of a mother, and picture fans began to accept her just as readily—and affectionately—in the role as they accepted Miss Hale and Mr. Roberts for years before death called them from the studios.

Quiet, modest Louise Beavers, for years a favorite with moviegoers, leaves her traditional maid roles in "Imitation of Life" and proves her ability to handle an important part

Occasionally, however, Miss Beavers would get a "bit part" in some other role. Sometimes it would be as the inevitable Negro murderess in a woman's prison, or as the wistful-eyed vagrant peering into a restaurant window, or as the garrulous washerwoman on a crowded subway train, fussing dejectedly with an unwieldy clothes basket, and redolent of soap perhaps, if pictures could appeal to one's olfactory senses. These she handled so well that she evoked more than casual comment for the grace, sincerity, naturalness and spontaneity of her characterizations. Producers began to recognize in her the logical player for such parts, and audiences everywhere recognized her just as methodically.

When the opportunity came, and she had to compete with twenty other aspirants to the role of Delilah in "Imitation of Life," the cynics shook their heads, and declared she could not do justice to the part. She had never had a chance to show her abilities as an emotional actress before. Many thought she was not the type. She would appear stilted, wooden, unnatural in the role, they argued. But when Director Stahl picked her out of the score of others, and made tests of her acting, he was so elated over the result that he stopped work on the production for three days, feeling that most of the difficult task of making the picture had been expedited with the discovery of Miss Beavers. His vision has been amply demonstrated by the tributes paid her performance by motion picture critics and film fans in every place where "Imitation of Life" has been shown.

Quiet and Retiring

Living quietly in a modest home, Miss Beavers abhors ostentation of every kind. She drives herself back and forth to work daily, refuses to have a cook or maid, and entertains very rarely. Los Angeles, with its rabid enthusiasm for anyone who has "arrived," was unable to draw her from the quiet of her home to bask in its fire-cracker limelight of hero-worship when word went around she had been chosen to play the part in "Imitation of Life." Instead, she stuck to her home, carefully memorizing her lines far into the night while others celebrated her success.

But she is intensely race conscious and public spirited. Her admiration of the works of Mary Baker Eddy, and her acceptance of the Christian Science philosophy have not taken her away from her people, or from the Negro church where she played in amateur theatricals. No more than her wide acquaintance with dozens of famous Hollywood actors, playwrights, directors, and writers and the invitations she receives to their homes have taken her away from her own people. When the studio preview of her picture was shown a fortnight ago to a selected group of newspapermen at University City, she stoutly insisted upon the presence of members of the Negro Press in whose opinion of the picture she was more in-

(*Continued on page* 29)

Editorials

Lynchers on the Run

THE defenders of the inalienable right to lynch are on the run. The ancient excuse for lynching was rape, but that was discredited when white women in the South revolted against the insult that declared they could be kept pure only by mobs of blood-thirsty villains. Statistics, too, proved only 16 per cent of lynching victims were accused of rape.

A favorite refuge of opponents of federal action has been their belief that the states should be allowed to deal with this crime. They have overlooked, persistently, the rights which the Constitution declares the states must guarantee to every citizen. But in recent years, with increasingly glaring spotlights being turned upon the fantastic derelictions of state and local governments in dealing with lynching, the defenders of states's rights have met with scoffing and scorn. Today the most advanced thinkers among them have deserted the argument and the liberals are wavering frightfully.

Currently it is contended delays in the law are responsible for lynching, but it is significant that no one has cited statistics in support of this premise. The truth, of course, is that Negroes accused of crime are brought too quickly to swift conviction and heavy punishment. It may be that the Capone era, with its corruption of the forces of law and order through its hired legal technicians, gave color to the present wails against the delays of the law. But Negroes suspected or accused of crime were never the beneficiaries of such delays.

With every slightly tenable argument of the lynchers under smashing attack, the noose-pullers may be driven yet to a defense of mob rule on the grounds that it provides pleasure, that it is *fun!* THE CRISIS, which has hung its head in shame on many an occasion for our country, has no desire to herald officially this deepest humiliation. We would not see Americans spurred to action to refute this last tenet of barbarism.

So, for the blood of the victims, for the honor of our governmental traditions, for the safety of our fabric of society, and for the decency and humanity commonly thought to be resident in all civilized beings, we urge the speedy enactment of a federal anti-lynching law.

Respect for Law

OUT in Oklahoma the son of a United States judge is being held on a charge of murder with the possibility that extortion charges also will be lodged against him. He is said to be a member, if not the leader, of a gang of well-to-do young men from "good" families, which is alleged to have plotted extortion involving the abduction of the daughter of a wealthy oil operator—a young woman who was a member of their own social set. The first news stories stated the young mobsters even had considered "getting prominent young women in compromising situations" as a worthy activity for their superior, but idle, Nordic mentalities.

This is part of the crop of so-called civilized beings which the tolerance of lynching has helped to flourish. The organized gang idea, typified by Al Capone, has had its influence, but it was inevitable that generations of flouting the law by lynching mobs, with the toleration—and often laudation—of non-participants would drill into thrill-hunting youngsters disrespect for law. So today even the son of a federal judge stands suspected of plotting the defamation of his own women-folk, of extortion, and is accused of murder. The Mariannas, Maryvilles, Wacos, Clarksdales, Kirbyvilles, Labadievilles, Princess Annes, Tuscaloosas and Salisburys have wrought better than they dreamed.

25th Year

WITH this issue THE CRISIS begins its twenty-fifth year of publication. For twenty-three and a half years it was edited by Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, whose brilliance and individuality gave THE CRISIS a flavor and distinction enjoyed by few publications. His biting prose and clear, bitter essays in behalf of his people lifted this magazine out of the usual place of propaganda organs.

No one of the present directors of THE CRISIS believes that the shoes of Dubois can be filled, for here was a warrior and a poet, a worker and a dreamer. But there is a mission for THE CRISIS, for there is still a people to be guided from pain and poverty to peace and security; there is still the age-old challenge of suspicion and prejudice. As it enters its silver jubilee year THE CRISIS dedicates its pages anew to the formulation and exposition of a program which will effect the emancipation of both whites and blacks. It invites old and new friends of liberty, of all colors, races and stations in life to join in the task.

Mobs Are Tougher Than Women

THE attorney general of the United States, Mr. Homer S. Cummings, is reported in the press as wracking his brains for a solution to the knotty problem of how the majestic federal government may proceed against the 94-pound widow of the late Baby Face Nelson, Dillinger gang machine-gunner. To quote an Associated Press dispatch in the New York *Herald-Tribune:*

"He (Cummings) said she now was accused only of breach of probation, but 'we are considering the question of stealing government property, the possibility that she aided a fugitive from justice to escape across a state line, and complicity in murder.'"

Mr. Cummings is diligent in seeking out mere *possibilities* of federal action against this woman, but he is mum as Menelik on the clear-cut interstate kidnap-lynching of Claude Neal. It must be remembered, however, that mobs—even of Florida morons—are tougher than women.

Our White Folk

ONLY a person of unutterable naivete can fail to realize that the changes taking place in America and the world call for something more than the usual chauvinistic, jingoistic programs of nations, races and classes. No more sorry example of this can be found than the present Republican party. Clinging steadfastly to its phrases and slogans of a fast-disappearing era, the Old Guard hangs grimly on, utterly oblivious to its ridiculous position. Herbert Hoover writes pages of meaningless drivel about "human liberty" while Charles D. Hilles, his very foot unsteadied by the shifting sands, bellows to the wild waves to be still.

Big Business girds itself for new assaults upon any program designed to effect change in the old order. Nations bluster and strut, forsaking whatever they had of diplomacy and using back-yard antagonists language. The objective is not peace and security, but war, profits and the status quo.

In our own relatively small sphere of relations between the races in America, both sides have been blind to the needs of the day. The Negro has had good cause to be suspicious of his white folk of all classes and the white folk, in turn, have had reason to fear the competition of their Negroes in many lines of endeavor. It ought to be apparent to most thinking members of both races by now, however, that the methods of hunting security employed in the past cannot lead

Editorials

to the goal. In the changes taking place daily—even hourly—here and elsewhere in the world, there can be no security for white or black without unity of the two on a program of common good. There must be a unified attack on the philosophies and practices which keep both out of the sun.

To this end the Negro must realize that there are white folk today with whom he can make a beginning at real unity. Not all of them reside in the North. Not all of them are so-called "quality"; many are workers. THE CRISIS believes that the first steps should be made by colored people even at the risk of rebuff and misunderstanding. We urge that colored people rid themselves of stereotyped ideas of whites, just as we importune whites to discard stereotypes of Negroes. Some of the hardest workers against lynching today are southern white people; not only those who issue statements against lynching, but those who appreciate that lynching is rooted in exploitation. The millions of unorganized white farmers and workers can be persuaded, but the job requires patience and persistence. The first step is painstaking study of the factors hitherto neglected by most Negroes and whites: economics, elements of political economy, and history of labor and capital.

At the same time THE CRISIS warns against the pestiferous clamor of the panacea advocates. The war is not to be won by supporting a program of strict racialism; it will not be speeded by the condescending, didactic "smart" observations of white intellectuals who have read a few books and now know just what is wrong with the Negro; and it cannot be helped by the sweeping assertions that only support of this or that political party will bring victory.

There was a time when, as Dr. Abram L. Harris has it, the average white American was so enthralled by the American dream of rising to riches and power that he would not listen to any such program. But that day is passing. Machines and greed are speeding a new time. Our white folk, becoming slowly disallusioned, are ready to listen to a program of integration. They had better listen, and we had better preach and work or both of us will be ground to greater misery than we have ever known.

Father Coughlin, Huey Long, and the Legion of Decency

FIFTEEN million parishioners of the Roman Catholic church had read to them on Sunday morning, December 9, a pledge of the newly formed Legion of Decency not to patronize motion pictures labeled by the legion as indecent.

Father Coughlin, the radio priest, has started the organization of an association or council in which he proposes to enroll five millions of Americans for the general purpose of securing social justice.

Huey Long, Louisiana's Big Boss, estimates that his "share-the-wealth" movement already has enlisted a million and a quarter persons.

These campaigns, even allowing for the clowning Kingfish, are all mighty efforts for what their sponsors believe to be the improvement of society. All have moved carefully around the sorest social problem in America—justice for the Negro. The Catholic church, here and there, has made some efforts for the Negro and against the obviously outrageous crime of lynching. Enlightened leaders in it are trying hard to get the whole church into a righteous position, but they are having hard sledding. In the main the Catholic church has turned a deaf ear and an unseeing eye toward the real needs of the Negro. Yet it can mobilize fifteen million people upon a dubious undertaking of purifying the films.

Father Coughlin has been preaching and pamphleteering for several years from his Shrine of the Little Flower, but if he has made any except passing reference to twelve million Negroes and their problems it has escaped THE CRISIS. His new association for social justice, if it follows his pattern of the past, will be silent likewise.

Of course, no one can tell what Huey Long will do next, that is, what he will do so far as white people are concerned. We venture the guess that the Kingfish's dream of sharing wealth does not include dark Americans.

It seems to be indicated that America's mind is still very far from social justice when the most powerful conservative church body in the land, a "liberal" economics-preaching priest, and the greatest showman since Barnum are practically as one on the subject of their Negro fellow Americans.

Congressman Mitchell Talks

IT was inevitable that Arthur W. Mitchell, elected to Congress over Oscar DePriest, would have requests for interviews on his beliefs and proposed program. It has been a little surprising, however, to note the freedom with which the new representative has delivered himself on all and sundry topics. In one particular, at least, Mr. Mitchell has been poorly informed. He is quoted immediately after his election as saying there has been no discrimination against his people under the New Deal.

THE CRISIS has presumed to advise other congressmen and we do not see why we should draw a color line and indulge Mr. Mitchell. He appears to mean well, but we advise him in all kindliness to sit still in Washington for a little while and find out what is really going on, not what the party bosses say is going on. He will find discriminatory ideas in the New Deal—pleasantly phrased, but discriminatory, nevertheless—from Donald Richberg on down to the smallest office-holder in Rolling Fork, Miss. And Mr. Mitchell may find that with all the faults attributed to him, Mr. DePriest had certain qualities which endeared him to large sections of the Negro population and earned him the respect even of Blanton of Texas. We believe we understand Mr. Mitchell's desire to be a congressman and not just a Negro congressman. He has a great opportunity and can render a real service. THE CRISIS is confident that when he discovers the facts he will not hesitate to do his duty.

U. S. Adopts the Georgia Plan

WHEN THE CRISIS spoke in September about the determination of Georgia not to pay NRA and PWA wage scales to Negro workers, we had no idea that so soon as Thanksgiving the United States government would adopt the Georgia idea. But here it is. Mr. Roosevelt went down to his "other home" in Warm Springs, Ga., for Thanksgiving and Governor Eugene Talmadge told him what was what. Mr. Harry Hopkins was called down and later announced the FERA would abandon the minimum wage of 30 cents an hour and allow the wages to be fixed locally by the prevailing wage scale of the section. Mr. Roosevelt may not believe it and Mr. Hopkins may not want to admit it, but this means simply that the Negro workers on relief in the South will go back to five and ten cents an hour—if that.

Psychologists Analyze Neal Lynching

"de Sade in all his glory could not have invented a more diabolical situation"

By Dr. A. A. Brill

After reading the report of the Florida lynching, it occurred to me that de Sade in all his glory could not have invented a more diabolical situation than was actually enacted in this southern Christian community of the United States of America.

In my capacity as a psychiatrist and as a student of the abnormal, I have read and heard of bizarre and inhuman algolagnic situations, but the cold-bloodedness and lack of sensibility to human suffering, as displayed by a crowd of so-called "civilized" whites in this lynching, I could never have imagined. One is forced to conclude that a large section of our southern whites are nothing but primitive sadists forever lurking for new victims. One's sense of justice and decency are outraged by the fact that the government condones such brutal behavior.

By Dr. Fritz Wittels

Lynching is a form of murderous revenge best known under the Italian name of vendetta, and practiced by savage and semi-savage peoples. Hence, all that has been said on vendetta by jurists, sociologists and psychologists holds true for lynching: the administration of justice is ruthlessly wrested from the arms of the Law and meted out by private citizens according to their own sense of justice. Vendetta is based not on any written law but exclusively on tradition. In many cases the right to mete out the punishment is accorded to the wronged person himself, or his next of kin. This arouses a feeling of satisfaction (pleasure) which effectively counteracts and mitigates the pain of the offense.

The report on the torture and murder of the Negro, Claude Neal, in Florida, emphasizes economic causes in an attempt to ultimately explain the outrage. Without denying such causes, one must nevertheless insist that the details and the specific cruelty of this deed are not, or at any rate not sufficiently, explained by economic laws. It seems quite apparent that a sexual perversion had its way, a perversion known as sadism and described in detail in the books of the notorious Marquis de Sade (1814). The sadist derives sexual pleasure and gratification from the infliction of pain and torture upon another individual and not infrequently upon animals. Deep humiliation, mutilation and murder perpetrated for pleasure are the extremes of this perversion.

Overt sadism admitted as such, becomes rarer and rarer in civilization due to the law and moral inhibitions which obstruct its practice. Thus, sadists are compelled to repress their perverted instincts and wait for an occasion which will justify their actions. Such opportunities are eagerly grasped, and all sadistic impulses break loose for the obtainment of sexual gratification. Such constellations permit what is known in psychology as rationalization. In the case of Claude Neal sadism is rather poorly rationalized. Even if we assume that the economic condition of the white populace of Marianna, Florida, plus their sense of justice based on vendetta account for the savage brutality of the lynching, we cannot overlook the fact that the unspeakable torture of Claude Neal takes on all the characteristics of an orgiastic celebration.

It is characteristic of this kind of thinly veiled perversion, that the debauchers themselves are unaware, unconscious of the fact that their acts are sexual carousals. But investigations of such cases have shown that the sexual excitement of the participants betrayed itself in an unmistakable form. Among savages, "lust murders" are followed by regular sexual orgies indulged in by both sexes. Among civilized peoples, there are only a small number of such cases on record.

A single individual only very rarely is capable of such overt degrees of sadism. One can refer to the laws of mob psychology to explain the lynching of Claude Neal. Personal danger for the lynchers does not exist in a crowd: responsibility is extraordinarily diluted in a group. Moreover, certain homosexual viewpoints come into consideration when a group hunts a man which cannot be gone into here because of their complicated interrelations.

Lynching and the Law's "Leniency"

Apologists for America's terrible lynching record are wont to attribute the prevalence of mob violence in this country to delay and leniency in the administration of justice. Figures do not indicate that there has been any great leniency or delay in the punishment of Negroes accused of crime.

In South Carolina for the period 1920–26, 64.1 per cent of the Negroes charged with murder or manslaughter were found guilty, while the similar percentage for whites was 31.7.

In 1910 Negroes constituted 10.69 per cent of the total population and in that year they received 56 per cent of the grave homicide sentences and 49.1 per cent of the lesser homicide sentences. In the South in 1910 Negroes received 74.4 per cent of the grave homicide sentences and 67.6 per cent of the lesser homicide sentences. In 1910 the average sentence for those punished by imprisonment without fine and by definite sentences was 5.2 months for whites and 17.4 months for Negroes.

This same year—1910—there were 90 lynchings, most of them of Negroes and most of them in the South.

From June, 1930 to July, 1931 there were 81 executions in ten southern states. Thirteen of the executions were whites, all for murder; 68 were of Negroes, 57 for murder, 8 for rape and 3 for burglary.

In twelve southern states during the same year, 669 life sentences were given, 199 to whites divided as follows: 192 murderers, 6 rapists, and 1 burglar; 470 Negroes, divided as follows: 425 murderers, 20 rapists, and 25 burglars and others.

According to Chadbourn's "Lynching and the Law": "Only about .8 of one per cent of the lynchings in the United States since 1900 have been followed by the conviction of the lynchers."

There is overwhelming evidence that Negroes tried for serious crimes in the communities most addicted to lynching are promptly and drastically punished. Most of them are ignorant, propertyless and often friendless workers.

The states have not stopped lynching. Federal action is needed.

Ousted After 15 Years

Mrs. Julia Humble, who has been postmaster at Gowdey, Miss., a small place located within the city limits of Jackson, Miss., for fifteen years and seven months, was replaced recently by Mrs. Addie Whittington Magee, white. Mrs. Humble was appointed by President Wilson on January 16, 1919. It is said that ever since Congressman Russell Ellzey was seated in March, 1933, he has been working continuously to take the little job away from a colored person and give it to a white woman. The Gowdey postoffice serves an outlying section of Jackson all of whose residents are colored.

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

St. Augustine, Florida, *Record*

Anti-lynching leaders announce that the Wagner-Costigan bill presented and debated at the last Congress will be re-introduced at this session. It will ask that penalties be established for state and county officials from whom a lynching victim is seized and it will provide a procedure by which the victim's heirs may claim damages from the county involved.

Twenty lynchings have occurred already this year, a shocking number in a supposedly enlightened country. It is evident that something must be done to put an end to a practice which is a disgrace and a blot on the name of any state or county in which it occurs. The day when lynchings were necessary has passed, and though some will argue that the law often fails to mete out proper punishment to criminals, there are few cases when it fails to punish miscreants whose crimes are repulsive enough to arouse indignation necessary to call out a lynching mob.

Mob action of any kind in a civilized country is a practice which must be stamped out. Psychologists will tell you that a crowd, composed of men who are sane and respectable individually, has the aggregate mentality of a child of twelve. Deeds are committed by these mobs which put every man in them on an equal plane with the criminal they are punishing. Besides, only too often, an innocent victim suffers.

It is to be hoped that the Wagner-Costigan bill will be made into law at the next Congress so that those hotheads who instigate lynchings may pause to reflect that by their action they are causing an expense to the county which will come out of their own pockets through taxes. If the law is enacted, it also will make law officials in sympathy with the cause of the mob, adhere to their duty more firmly and, in cases where officials are popular in the county, the lynchers will doubtlessly hesitate to get them into trouble by forcible seizure of prisoners. It is to be hoped that these "teeth" in this bill will prove effective enough to cause the would-be lynchers to stay quietly at home and let the law take its course.

For several weeks we have been wanting to say, that whatever other communities may be doing in the matter of employment, Charlotte is giving its Negro citizens a square deal in its public works program. . . Now if they will only clean up the streets in the sections where Negroes live, and keep them clean; if they will lay, and keep laid, flying disease-laden dust; if they will pave our highways, our causes for complaint will be greatly lessened.—*The Star of Zion.*

Gradually the courts of the State are recognizing the justice and fitness of calling Negroes for jury service. A few weeks ago Judge Armistead, of Warwick county, summoned a member of the race for grand jury service in his court. He was following precedents set within recent months by Judges Ingraham and Welles, of Richmond; Coleman, of Fredericksburg and McLemore, of Nansemond.

There have been no untoward reactions to the high-minded performance of their duties by these jurists, and there will be none. We are sure their actions will be followed by other courts, and that public sentiment will sustain the action in every case. . . .—Norfolk *Journal and Guide.*

For the first time in history, a Negro Democrat has been elected to Congress. He is Arthur W. Mitchell of Chicago, and he succeeds in office Oscar DePriest, another Negro. In Oklahoma, the town of Boley, entirely populated by Negroes, deserted the Republican party Tuesday and gave a plurality to all Democratic candidates. . . . These and other examples that might be cited show that the historic adherence of Negroes to the party of Abraham Lincoln has been gravely shaken. . . . Now, it seems, modern Negroes, responding to education, are beginning to vote with discrimination. Many of them have joined the great and growing army of independent voters, who give constant allegiance to neither of the great parties, but decide between them in the light of men and issues. The change from the day when the Negro vote went blindly to one party is a salutary thing for the Negroes—and for all the political parties, including the Republican as well.—St. Louis *Post-Dispatch.*

Much criticism is directed at the stranglehold bureaucracy has on some of the departments at Washington despite the changing of administrations. The refusal of local hospital authorities to appoint a Negro on the staff of a hospital opened in Queens is proof positive that the evils of bureaucracy run rampant in not a few of the departments of Greater New York.—New York *Age.*

A report comes that Negroes stood side by side with whites in the labor troubles which took place a while ago in Alabama. Not only did the black workers go on a strike along with the whites, but the strikers used them as pickets. It takes no prophet to see that when the two races cooperate in the very important matter of getting a living, the limitations on Negroes in voting, jury service, home building, schooling and the like will fade out. . . . Kansas City *Call.*

It is very gratifying to note the defeat of seven pro-Parker Senators in the recent primaries of the nation. These Senators favored Parker, a North Carolina citizen, who believed in the disfranchisement of Negroes, that Negroes did not wish to enter politics, that the Republican Party in North Carolina did not wish Negroes to vote, and that Negro participation in politics is a source of evil and danger. . . . Credit for this victory goes to the N.A.A.C.P. Most important, however, is the demonstration as never before of the power and potentialities of the Negro vote.—Pittsburgh *Crier.*

The Federal Housing Administration has been helping the American home owner to make those repairs which the vicissitudes of the depression prevented. A total of 44,809 loans, aggregating $19,021,116.72, have already been submitted for insurance. Most of these loans, or a total of $13,181,376.41, were for the improvement by the owner on single-family residences. Homeowners of our group should be taking full advantage of this opportunity to repair and improve their properties, thus enhancing values and increasing comfort.—Pittsburgh *Courier.*

It is gratifying to note that the Civil Service Commission has taken cognizance of the experience and fitness of Negro workers who have served as porter-in-charge, and has ruled that they are eligible to apply for jobs as conductors in the municipal subway system. . . .—New York *Amsterdam News.*

National Champion: Kentucky State

By William I. Gibson

In this comprehensive review of the 1934 football season in Negro colleges, Mr. Gibson selects the gridders from the Blue Grass state as being entitled to championship rating although there are other undefeated teams

FOOTBALL'S Santa Claus is in a dilemma. Five or six major institutions—maybe more—are expecting the gridiron's Kris Kringle to drop the mythical national football championship into their stockings, and it appears that all but one of them are going to be rudely disappointed.

With only a New Year's Day game between Tuskegee and Prairie View in the offing, it can be said that the season ended officially on December 8. As this is written, the Kentucky State Thorobreds of Frankfort, Ky., coached by Henry Kean and John Stewart, appear to have the right of way to national gridiron supremacy.

For three years the Kentuckians have been outside the throne-room, but this year they seem destined to enter. Standing on the threshold with them, however, are the Morgan Bears of Baltimore, Md.; the Langston Lions of Oklahoma; the Texas College Steers of Tyler, Tex.; the Bishop College Tigers, of Marshall, Tex., and the Big Blues of Bluefield, (W. Va.) State Teachers' College.

Why They Rate It

Supporters of Kentucky State point to the fact that the Thorobreds yielded but two points in eight games, while piling up 194 for themselves, and defeated almost in a row West Virginia State, Wilberforce, Tuskegee, Morris Brown and Wiley. The crushing 35–0 defeat which the Kentuckians handed the Wildcats, climaxed a brilliant season and represented the second highest score which the Kean-coached machine rolled up during the season, the highest score being the 41–0 rout of a feeble Fisk eleven.

It was the most stinging blow which the Texans received in their schedule of ten games, and gave the Wiley team, beaten 21–0 by the Langston Lions, something to talk about far into the winter months. By this victory alone, the Kentuckians showed themselves to be 14 points superior to Langston and from 28 to 35 points superior to the Texas College Steers, who had previously held Wiley to a 7–7 stalemate.

Langston defeated Lincoln (Mo.) University, 14–6, whereas Kentucky State won from the Missourians, 33–0, establishing on comparative scores a margin of 25 points over the Oklahomans. The excuse that Langston played the Missourians on a muddy field while the Kentuckians had the advantage of dry underfooting is not strong enough to be taken into consideration in the determination of a national champion.

Neither can the alibi that a team had several of its best men injured upon the occasion of an important contest be admitted as evidence of what a team "might" have done under different circumstances. The things which count most are the number of games played, the strength of opponents and the percentage of games won and lost.

Taking these factors into consideration, it is hard to see how any fair-minded critic can contest Kentucky State's claim in view of its victories over five of the most outstanding elevens in the nation. It is idle to speculate as to what other teams would have done had they met the same opposition.

Consider the fact that Louisville Municipal University defeated the Lincoln (Mo.) team, 18–13 and was beaten 27–0 by Kentucky State, and one must admit that Langston's victory over the Missourians was not as impressive as some partisans may insist.

Morgan College is the only major college eleven unscored upon this season. In fact, the Baltimoreans, unbeaten since 1931, have not been scored upon in nine consecutive games, and by a margin of less than one point (according to the Dickinson rating system) nosed out the Bluefield eleven to keep the Colored Intercollegiate Athletic Association title for the third consecutive year, and the fourth time in five years, although Bluefield was also unbeaten this year.

The Bears base their claim for national honors upon their defensive record, arguing that it is without equal in recent gridiron history.

Texas College bases its claim upon the fact that the Steers scored 363 points to 34 for opponents in nine games. Those who would discount the claims of the Steers, however, insist that the team scored 102 of its points on Mary Allen College, a nonentity in collegiate grid circles, and scored 105 more on Southern University and Sam Houston College combined.

The only creditable performances which these critics will allow the Texans are their 7–7 tie with Wiley and their 17–7 defeat of Prairie View, a team which conquered Wiley.

Langston's record does not contain victories over any large number of major rivals, such names as Western Baptist, Shorter, Sam Houston, Western University, and others appearing in the Lions' list of triumphs.

Giants of Past Gone

Gone from the list of contenders are Tuskegee, Wilberforce, Morris Brown, Alabama State, Wiley, West Virginia State and Prairie View, all beaten at least once during the season. Gone the brilliance that once enshrouded Howard, Lincoln and Hampton in the Southeast.

Disappointing were the Lincoln, (Pa.) Lions, playing their first season under coaches Manuel Rivero and Chuck Jones, who failed to score a touchdown against a conference foe until their final Turkey day game with Howard. Lincoln, whose mighty Jazz Byrd, Whirlwind Johnson, Bill Taylor, Wayman Coston, and other luminaries once made the Lions one of the terrors of intercollegiate football, was barely able to nose out Cheyney Teachers' College, a "B" division outfit, and bowed to Delaware State, of the same conference, 8–0.

Up from the ranks came Claflin College down in Orangeburg, S. C., tutored this year by William (Bill) Bell, former star tackle at Ohio State university. Unbeaten this season, the Claflin team on Thanksgiving day upset S. C. State, conqueror of Tuskegee, by a 6–0 score. Previously, Claflin had played a scoreless tie with Benedict and held the Florida Rattlers, 6–6.

The CIAA, composed of 13 colleges in North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania and the District of Columbia, uses the Dickinson system and will award the conference title to Morgan. The SIAA, composed of 11 teams in Georgia, Florida, Alabama, South Carolina and Tennessee, also uses the Dickinson system, and in all likelihood will award the 1934 crown to Morris Brown University of Atlanta.

The SAAA (South Atlantic Athletic Association) composed largely of smaller schools in South Carolina, will in all probability name Claflin champion. It is patent that Kentucky State takes top honors in the Mid-West Athletic Association and that Texas College carries

off the laurels of the Southwestern Athletic Association.

The M-3A (Middle Atlantic Athletic Association) will award its flag to Delaware State College of Dover. The Dover gridders played through a season of seven games without a defeat, and with only a safety scored by Miner Teachers' College of Washington to show for the efforts of its opponents.

These conferences embrace the outstanding colleges and universities of the nation, and while some fans may doubt the accuracy of the Dickinson system in determining champions as opposed to the "won and lost" system, one, nevertheless, must take the conference champions as such into consideration above any other teams in attempting to arrive at a national champion.

Bluefield played a nine-game schedule, with no defeats and one scoreless tie, yet the Blues must step aside for the Morgan Bears who had three scoreless ties and no defeats in eight games played. The reason for this is that Bluefield numbered among its victims, Shaw, Smith, N. C. State and St. Paul, all second division teams under the Dickinson system, and consequently received less for each victory than would have been the case had these victims been of first division calibre.

On the other hand, Morgan's three scoreless ties were all with first division teams, and the Bears received more points for these deadlocks than Bluefield did for its second division victories. Bluefield and Morgan each boasted a first division victory, the Blues taking Virginia Union, 12–0 and the Bears taking A. and T. College, 7–0, early in the season.

Morris Brown, under the tutelage of Billy Nicks, did not lose a Southern conference game, tying Ala. State and Tuskegee, and defeating Benedict, Xavier, Morehouse, S. C. State, Florida A. and M. College and Clark University. The Wolverines, however, were taken over the jumps by Kentucky State, and in this wise are eliminated as national contenders.

Anvil Chorus for Coaches

As pointed out in a previous article, the 1934 season was productive of better football the country over than any other season in the past five or ten years. The year was one of ups and downs for coaches, however, and already the annual anvil chorus has begun in different sections.

Gaston (Country) Lewis, who came back to Wilberforce, his alma mater, from Alabama State, bringing the Warner system with him, had what many Buckeye supporters are wont to call a poor season, dropping three of nine games played, one to the almost hitherto unknown Tennessee State eleven.

Cleve (Gloomy) Abbott, considered the dean of Southern mentors, saw his Tuskegee Tigers lose five games and tie one in 11 contests played, and Fred T. Long, with a modified Rockne system and an almost entirely new squad (only two letter men from 1933) saw his Wildcats held to a tie by Texas College and beaten by Prairie View, Langston, Arkansas State and Kentucky.

The Rivero-Jones regime at Lincoln University in Pennsylvania was far from what many loyal sons of Lincoln expected but not much worse than those of the past five years. Both were employed under one-year contracts. The Jefferson-Barnes-Verdell combine at Virginia State was not productive of as much as some of the Trojan followers had anticipated.

On the other hand, the successes of Henry Kean at Kentucky State, Eddie Hurt at Morgan College, Ray Kemp at Bluefield, Inman Breaux at A. and T. College, Zip Gayles at Langston and A. W. Mumford at Texas College have placed them in the forefront of the present crop of gridiron mentors.

Some of the coaches whose teams finished far down the scale in 1934 must be reckoned with in 1935, however, for they were laying the ground work for more powerful machines.

Head Coach Kean, Kentucky

Fewer disputes regarding player eligibility were heard this year but here were occasional rumblings in different sections that the brand of officiating had slumped below par. There were no fatalities in collegiate football. The only reported death was that of a high school player at Staunton, Virginia.

There were more intersectional clashes of importance, although the CIAA teams still confine their schedules almost solely to conference opponents. The game would be greatly stimulated if this conference would encourage its outstanding teams to engage in intersectional contests with teams governed by similar eligibility regulations.

Good Material

Coaches were almost unanimous in admitting a plethora of good backfield material this year—a number of outstanding field generals, with halfbacks and fullbacks to spare. There were also several high-calibre ends and tackles. While there were not many sensational pivot men, there was an even greater dearth of guards; not that there were not any number of linemen who gave good performances as submerged cogs in their respective football machines.

But as for guards whose performances stood out boldly on the football horizon, there were few. It would be impossible to list all of the players who at some time or other during the season exhibited flashes of brilliance, but for the benefit of those hardy individuals who would risk their necks in selecting an All-America combination, I am submitting the names of the following players who should be given serious consideration when such selections are being made:

ENDS: Winesberry (Langston); Hardin (Kentucky State); Crawford (Morgan); Houseworth (Morris Brown); Dave Raines (Wilberforce); E. Poole (Va. Union); Thomas (A. and T.); Turner (Texas College).

TACKLES: Coleman (Kentucky State); Gaither (Howard); Ike Robinson (Wilberforce); Jenkins (Virginia Union); Burkett (Morgan); Moss (Bluefield); Wingo (Tuskegee); Cooper (Bishop).

GUARDS: Pempleton (Texas College); Drake (Morgan); Bumphas (Kentucky State); Perry (Langston); Sellers (Wilberforce); Hibbler (Wiley).

CENTERS: McPherson (Wilberforce); Thompson (West Va. State); Bergen (Lincoln); Berry (Morris Brown); McGruder (Howard); Alston (N. C. State); White (Talladega).

QUARTERBACKS: Norman (A. and T.); Patterson (Wiley); Kendall (Kentucky State); Meadows (West Va. State); Anderson (Howard); Smith

(*Continued on page 29*)

"Public Enemy No. 1"

(*Continued from page 7*)

is a travesty upon reason and experience. There *is no* local authority when sober public sentiment is engulfed by the passions of the mob, and when even the officers of the law condone if they do not connive in the subversion of law to lawlessness. The record of the past five years is stained with the life blood of ninety five unjudged victims largely because local authority failed to prevent and failed to punish.

That is why we need a federal anti-lynching law. The bill which Senator Costigan and I have introduced does not deprive the states of their original responsibility or capacity for law enforcement by so much as a tithe. On the contrary, it gives them added incentives to do their duty. It imposes a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding five years, or both, upon any State or local officer whose neglectfulness either encourages mob violence or tends to discourage the apprehension of the culprits who participate therein. It enables the family of a victim to recover substantial damages from the county within those borders the outrage occurred. Whenever local conditions militate against the zealous prosecution of suspected offenders, the federal court in the district is vested with authority to try and punish in accordance with State law.

Legislation alone can not quench the fires of intolerance and hate. But the speedy passage of the federal anti-lynching bill will rally and sustain all the forces of enlightenment in the United States, and nowhere more than in the areas where right thinking people have been hoping and pleading for reinforcements in their courageous battle against the scourge of lynching in their midst.

—ROBERT F. WAGNER

National Law Needed

Yesterday in conversation with a southern white man in Atlanta, I found that we agreed on these two general propositions:

THAT A COMMUNITY THAT PERMITS A LYNCHING, WILL NOT PUNISH THE LYNCHERS. In the act of permitting the lynching the community has committed itself, has become compromised, and must exonerate the individuals in self-defense.

The second proposition is: THAT THERE IS NO ADEQUATE SUBSTITUTE FOR LOCAL CIVILIZATION. In a country whose government is organized like ours, local units of government will have far more to do with the life and happiness of its citizens than will the national administration.

But this southerner found it necessary also to agree that a national law against lynching is our next most logical step,—as a corollary to the fundamental truth of that first proposition. Although the truth of that second proposition makes the enforcement of national law difficult in cases where local sentiment is opposed to the enforcement, still the record of our unpunished lynchings and the plain impotence of small local minorities which are opposed to the crime call logically and loudly for action on the part of our sovereign unit of government, the government that is least responsive to local and isolated prejudices.

At the very least a national law could be counted upon to strengthen and encourage local sentiment and to give prestige and more power to the present helpless minorities that are actively opposed to lynching. Those who say "Leave it to the South!" are not logical, for they give voice to a pleasant theory of government which is not supported by the history and the facts of fifty years. The South, as well as South Africa and the South Sea islands, can be helped by outside influence,—and this South is not foreign to the rest of the United States. Lynching is as much a national crime as is kidnaping, and has a much worse record.

WILLIAM PICKENS

Women Lynched

Since 1882, 94 women have been lynched in America. The total since 1889 has been 83 women, 65 Negroes and 18 whites.

Mississippi leads in lynching women with 14 victims, the first being in 1891 and the last in 1923.

Texas is second on the list with 11 victims, the first in 1895 and the last in 1926.

Alabama is third with a total of 10, the first in 1891 and the last in 1930.

Georgia is fourth with a total of 8, the first in 1912 and the last in 1921.

Arkansas is close behind in fifth place with 7 victims, the first in 1892 and the last in 1910. South Carolina comes next with 6, the first in 1898 and the last in 1926. Louisiana's total is 5, first in 1892 and the last in 1917. Other states: Oklahoma 4; Tennessee 4; Kentucky 3; Florida 3; Missouri 2; North Carolina 2; and Virginia, West Virginia, Wyoming and Nebraska 1 each.

The states have not stopped lynching. Federal action is needed.

Puerile Joy

My opinion of lynching may be expressed in one sentence:

It is never prompted by righteous indignation, but by a puerile joy in throwing off the inhibitions of civilization and setting free for a few intoxicating moments the "cave-man within us."

GERTRUDE ATHERTON

"Such a Rotten and Stupid Way"

I do not see how any man can refuse to put in his word, for whatever it is worth, to any organized protest against lynching. It is such a rotten and stupid way to get a justice. What a perversion, that any man should think that, by joining a lynching mob, he is showing courage or manhood. It must be a coming to life of the dark thing that is asleep in all of us. It happens that I have never seen a lynching but know, from my own long living in country towns, how they happen.

It is all, I fancy, a part of the ugly side of our civilization. These terrible little southern towns . . . the story of what has been done to the poor whites . . . the meagerness and ugliness of life . . . this occasionally breaking forth in a Negro lynching. The whole mess is bad. I wish I thought that any man's protest would end it.

SHERWOOD ANDERSON

"Stimulate and Organize"

A heartening thing experienced during the work of the Southern Commission to Study Lynching was the generous measure of cooperation extended our group by leading citizens throughout the South while our investigations were in progress. Even more important, after the publication of our reports, which spared no feelings and protected no color, class or economic group, the responsible citizenship of the southern states testified repeatedly its general agreement with our findings, and its anxiety to find a way to eliminate the jurisdiction of Judge Lynch. After four years of this work, it is my judgment today that no important difference of opinion exists among the articulate groups in the South that lynching is an evil which must and shall be ended.

The language of Henry Grady, addressed to the South as a whole fifty years ago, in that embittered era when this section was painfully liquidating the losses of the Civil War, seems to have lost none of its force with the leaders of the present generation. Grady well knew the tempestuous temper of the

public mind, the maladjustments of race relationships and the exasperating after-effects of Reconstruction. But he knew even better that the resultant problems must be handled in the spirit of common sense, common justice and good will. "Let us give the Negro his uttermost rights," Grady eloquently said, "and measure out justice to him in that fullness the strong should always give to the weak. Let us educate him, that he may be a better, a broader and more enlightened man . . . and let us remember this—that whatever wrong we put on him shall return to punish us."

This statement represents the sincere purpose of the leaders of the New South. It would be hard to find anyone to disagree with the statement of the last southern born president, Woodrow Wilson, that "every American that takes part in the action of a mob, or gives it any sort of countenance, is no true son of this great democracy, but its betrayer." As is so often the case, it is not in diagnosis but prescription that difficulties arise. How can this purpose best be instrumented? What is the most effective technique for eradicating this evil thing?

After long examination and careful study, many of the members of the Southern Commission to Study Lynching came to the conclusion that there was, so far, no reasonable expectation that federal authority would successfully prevent lynchings or punish those guilty of them, in communities in which existing state legal machinery had broken down because of ineffective local supporting sentiment.

That there must be some substantial measure of supporting local opinion for any law to be effectively enforced would seem more and more apparent. Several chapters of American history illustrate the truth of this. The 'Fifties were full of efforts of the federal government to enforce the Fugitive Slave law, but these broke down repeatedly in the areas in which the Act was without public consent. Similarly, federal efforts during Reconstruction to enforce in the South the civil rights decreed by the Radical congresses failed almost everywhere there was important local resistance. The more recent failures of our federal prohibition statutes gives a modern point to the indispensable necessity of local support.

For these reasons, many of us who have been actively at grips with the lynching problem—and we yield to none our sense of shame at its existence, and our earnest determination to stamp it out—are convinced that the best way to check the crime of lynching is through the continuation of the existing effort to stimulate, organize and instrument the growing determination of the leading citizens of the southern states to put an end to lynch law. This effort, we feel, will strengthen and energize the law machinery in the states themselves.

If, as time passes, efforts of this nature do not make an impression upon the problem, this conclusion will certainly be subject to revision and those now holding this view will expect to favor alternative techniques, including the effort to set up effective federal duresses. But as things now are, it is our feeling that a continued southern effort at self-correction has far more promise of result than has any attempt to erect a theoretically imposing federal structure which might, in actual operation, be little more effective than was Mr. Volstead's effort at remote control without local consent.

GEORGE FORT MILTON

"I Am Degraded"

Now from the eastern half of the world where I live I look through this same clarifying lens of distance, back to my own country, America. I have been proud always to be an American.

And yet, I would not be a true patriot, I think, if I were to excuse or condone in any slightest degree the incredible news which has come flashing across the cables even to this far China of the lynchings which have taken place in my country within very recent months and even weeks. Those who were lynched were my countrymen. That their race was not mine makes no difference—they were my countrymen. Because they were my countrymen, they had every right, no matter what their crime, to the privileges of the laws of our land. Their race, their crimes, have nothing to do with the question of their rights. When they were lynched they were treated with hideous and barbarous injustice. One receives with equanimity such news from savage islands or from the few remaining hinterlands of the world. To receive such news from my country, from America, my country which calls itself civilized, from which missionaries and philanthropists have been sent in such numbers to other countries and peoples, is inexplicable and to me heart-breaking.

I am quite aware that there are those among my countrymen who will say I do not understand the race problem. I reply, I do understand it. I have lived my life among colored races, a white child, a white girl, a white woman, with two daughters. There is no aspect of the race problem which I have not faced and completely understood. I have never seen any aspect, I cannot conceive of any aspect, which could extenuate the savage bestiality of lynching.

Do I know the crime, I am asked, of which those lynched have been guilty? Again I reply steadfastly, it makes no difference to me. If the assault had been against me, against my daughter, I would do my uttermost to prevent the criminal from being lynched, not only to save him, for after all, he is only one, but to prevent that more serious, more terrifying, more dangerous crime, the spectacle of a civilized, even intelligent group of people returned suddenly to primitive savagery in their thoughts and actions, and by this return dragging us all back again, down, down the long uphill road we humans have come from the beasts we once were to the men and women we hope to be upon this earth. That poor one matters so little. It matters so much that all of us, even here in China, suffer shame, humiliation, depression at the knowledge that again the machinery of civilization has failed, and in a country, especially, to which China looks for guiding achievement.

For I as an American in China am ashamed before the Chinese. I speak to them less hopefully of the inevitable passing of their barbarous civil wars, because in my own country is this subtle civil war, breaking out into such fearful open murder. I am less confident of their schemes of democracy, since I see that my own country, where the democratic theory has been most adequately put into practice, can yet allow, year after year, such recrudescense of the lowest, least democratic, least intelligent form of tyranny, the tyranny of the beast over the brain. I shall not be proud again until my countrymen make lynching a major crime. For to break the laws of justice, not only to a single human being, but to all human beings, by an act of such complete lawlessness as lynching, is infinitely worse than the killing of one man by another because it is the murder of one by many, and we are all implicated inextricably in such crime. I feel myself shamefully implicated, sitting here at my desk in my quiet home, pausing to look over peaceful Chinese fields and hills. I am degraded.

So it seems to me today, watching my country across the clear distance of the ocean, remembering the surprise and cynicism I saw upon certain Oriental faces only yesterday when they read what my countrymen did to my fellow citizens.

I shall not walk proudly now for awhile.—PEARL S. BUCK.—Reprinted by courtesy *Opportunity: Journal of Negro Life*. Copyright 1934 by Pearl S. Buck.

The Shoe Pinches

(*Continued from page 9*)

hopelessly spoiled child. On no account may its conduct be painted in the realistic, harsh colors what would be used in painting the behavior of East or West.

In its defense, a senator from the sunny Southland arose among his colleagues, and not realizing that times and even ideas do change, voiced in the reverberating tones which had won him his election, his undying determination and the determination of every He-man in the South, that their women, the loveliest and purest on God's earth, must and shall be protected. The speech aroused the usual passionate agreement of the male—North and South, for nothing pleases a puny runt of a man as to feel he is necessary to the protection of his female. And no one—except possibly an earnest prelate here and there, scattered and few—took the trouble to point out that the fiery senator had been indulging in empty gestures seeing that this particular lynching had had nothing whatever to do with rape, or indeed with any woman, unless one counts the Negro's own wife whom he was endeavoring to protect.

AND now David Uhlmann, his soul sickened by the fiendish crime, and by the evidence of sadistic cruelty on the part of men and women whom he had thought to call his friends, gave himself up to a tongue-lashing that would be remembered while their Temple lasted. He hadn't hesitated to call them murderers—no less. Nor did he permit them to pose as defenders of their womanhood. He stripped them of all pretense of a noble chivalry, and left them exposed, naked and shivering, clothed only in their greed, their envy, their savage inhumanity. He divided his sermon into two parts, announcing that the second part would be delivered the following Sabbath.

Many warnings were received not to deliver this second sermon. But he only turned them over promptly to the chief of police with the laughing remark that he had had no idea that so many of the town's leading citizens were such poor spellers.

Threats did not move him, nor did the tearful prayers of his own Judy.

"Papa is so angry," she murmured, looking up at him with her velvety, pleading eyes, "he says you don't understand—that no one who is not born in the South can understand."

David, for all that her lips were so red and juicy, and alluring, for all that her soft, rounded body was so ripe and ready to flow into his, put her from him. Gently, for she was very lovely, but firmly. He was thoroughly familiar by this time with the South's manner of saving its face, by insisting that only true southerners can understand their problems.

"For my sake, darling" she breathed, "he won't hear of our marrying!"

The lines came to him:

"I could not love thee Dear so much
loved I not honor more!"

But he refrained from quoting them, since Judy was probably too expensively educated to have been permitted to browse alone among the lesser lights of the Elizabethans.

"You wouldn't want me to do what I think wrong?" he questioned.

"N-no," his little Judy answered doubtfully, but brightened visibly as she added, "Couldn't you just speak of lynching in general? People wouldn't mind that so much. Why must you make everyone so uncomfortable?"

David remained adamant. After all no great prophet of Israel ever lifted up his voice against wrong-doing that the un-understanding had not refused to hear. Had not Isaiah the greatest of them all complained of the hosts of astrologers, the star gazers, the monthly prognosticators who were all against him? Had not Jeremiah his enemy, Pashhur son of Immer, the priest who had put him in the stocks?

So on that second Sabbath, while there were those in the great throng that came to hear him who approved and admired his courage, the majority argued that since the pulpits of the Christian churches had remained silent, ill it behooved a minister of a minority group like the Jews to denounce and excoriate those who were the powerful majority.

Nevertheless there was no faltering on David's part. His voice rang out clearly and his warning rose as strongly as if none had threatened him.

"For I say unto you, Intolerance begets only Intolerance. And the seeds of Hatred bring forth only Hatred. And from the planting and watering of Contempt can spring forth only Contempt.

"Look well, oh my people, watch warily, for thy feet are already set upon the paths which are overgrown with the weeds of Bias and Bigotry."

No one was surprised when at the special meeting which was called, the President of the congregation arose and made a motion that

"In view of the recent depression, and the alarming shrinking in their funds, be it

Resolved: that the salary of their Rabbi be cut exactly in half."

Isaac Minus, a tall, thin Jew with an ironic smile, arose and protested that this action would be dishonorable. It was finally voted to give their Rabbi six months' leave with pay which would bring it to the date of the expiration of his contract. At its end they would of course refuse to renew it.

So David Uhlmann found himself at the age of thirty-three a Rabbi without a pulpit and what was worse, with a reputation for stirring things up that had better lie undisturbed. In short, as has happened to all great moral and spiritual leaders from the beginning, he was regarded as a dangerous man.

At least he was glad that his old mother had left him during the height of his success. He had been able to give her a fine home and her last days had been triumphant beyond her wildest dreams.

And now we take leave of our young preacher. Let us refrain from wondering whether he succumbed to the difficulties of his lot and found the isolated grave of the Jew suicide, or whether perchance he trimmed his views to the fears and phobias of the Conservative (leaving to you, my Reader, to decide which is the graver tragedy) or whether —a likely outcome—he may not have drifted northward and lived ever after in turbulent but gaudy uncertainty—not entirely unfamiliar with the insides of northern jails, in the flaming furtherance of unpopular causes.

THE Hon. Josiah appeared even more important than ever. And there was no doubt that he was a far happier man. No longer was his daughter in opposition to his ambitions, and the shy, shrinking youth who had come to wear the mantle of Elijah, showed no sign of becoming a nuisance of any kind. Best of all, no longer did the beautiful Temple whisper to him of defeat, but of success. He even began to have hopes that Uhlmann's part in its erection would be forgotten. It would be remembered only that he had first talked of it and had generously contributed both the land and a fair portion of the wherewithal to build.

THEN suddenly came the catastrophic doings in Germany, when a man who had been utterly discredited, thrust aside from decent society, swiftly leapt into power, and wielded it grimly, tyranically, revengefully. At first, rumors, scarcely credited, filtered slowly through the barriers of censorship. Finally, the astounding, the overwhelming truth burst the dam of suppression, and came through to a shocked and startled world.

There came to America all sorts of skillfully planted lies, shrewd distortions of the truth, exquisitely aimed at those smug "Hundred per centers" who hated differences, and at those who deep down

envied all success. Sly, undercover groups began their secret meetings. Hushed whisperings, vague accusations and reproaches, dug up from the slumber of centuries. Strange tales of cruel and mystic rites again were circulated, tales which had fondly been supposed to have been buried in the march of civilization. Once more were pressed back into the service of Intolerance, all the ancient discredited accusations. International ties, ties and bonds that transcended patriotism — knew no bounds of country, all were used again with malignant cunning to strengthen the hands of Greed and Envy.

In the sunny South where the seeds of racial intolerance had been for so long planted and watered, secret societies—new, yet old—old as are Jealousy, Covetousness, Revenge—raised their ugly heads with new-found vigor. They waxed great and powerful, swiftly outgrowing in their fertile soil, the few scattered Branches that had preceded them throughout the land that had once given birth to Sam Adams and Abe Lincoln.

Finally the inevitable happened. Lured from home one night by a false message from an old friend to whom he had been exceedingly generous (thus his very virtues made the basis of his undoing) the corpulent, well kept body of the Hon. Josiah fell into the itching hands of a sullen, grim, purposeful mob.

Voices arose about him, no longer sweet and languorous, but vibrant with intonations and overtones of revenge and satisfaction. Voices discordant with the warring elements within each breast, each actuated by some personal, inner dissatisfaction, each implacably biding his time to vent personal spleen upon the victim, each, moreover, imbued with hatreds and phobias nourished since those shadowy times when the Roman Legion had placed upon its equivalent of the electric chair, one of the finest, most spiritual and most forgiving Jews who ever lived.

The pungent odor of tar and burning feathers assailed his nostrils. His fat chin sagged. His always chalky face outblanched the bits of cloth behind which the cowardly mob sought to hide its features. He recognized, however, the shoulders of a man whom he had denied a loan. Next to him slouched one whom he had dismissed from his store. And soon he picked out from among them the contractor who had failed to get the bid for the building of the Temple. Another was an artist, unsteady on his feet from the whiskey without which—give him credit for that—he had been unable to stomach the proceedings. This was a temperamental incompetent who had failed to win the Sarah Samuels Prize at the local Art Museum. Not far from Josiah stood the president of a bank which had failed, and who, just before the failure, had sought a merger with Samuel's bank which had stood like a rock through the panic.

Josiah pulled himself together. He must not let these people see his shivering, sickened soul. The sense of humor, unfailing and eternal within the breast of the Jew, that which sucks secret savor from the most tragic moments, came to to his rescue, that bitter sense of humor without which his lot would be too pitiful even to contemplate. The ironic, laughter of the Jew suddenly purged and purified his soul.

"What do you want of me?" he demanded in as good an imitation of his best bank manner as he could command.

A storm of words broke loose:

"We're going to keep you dirty Jews in your place!" shouted one.

"We're sick of having Jews tell us how to run things!" shouted another.

"Edging in where you're not wanted!"

"Destroying property values. Who wants to live next to a lot of damned Jews!"

"Do you think we like having visitors pointed out our show place owned by a Jew?"

"And the finest place of worship in the South damn them!"

"Why didn't you Christians build a finer?" retorted Samuels, rashly.

A clout on his head answered him.

"We're not going to stand any longer for being represented at Washington by a damned Jew!"

Had the Hon. Josiah known his Shakespeare as well as he knew his Bradstreet, he would have paraphrased then and there:

"Had I but served my country, as I have served my town!"

* * * * * *

That night under cover of the darkness, a cowed and whimpering travesty of a man made his way back to his magnificent home. It was not reported whether or not the grinning ghost of young David Uhlmann accompanied him—the youth who had warned deaf ears that the fruit of Intolerance is Intolerance, and that from the seed of Hatred and Contempt can blossom only Hatred and Contempt.

Sentiment on Anti-lynching Bill

(*Continued from page* 14)

Wagner anti-lynching bill which will be re-introduced in the new session of the Congress, assuring to persons within the jurisdiction of every state equal protection of the laws and punishing the crime of lynching.

SOL BLOOM, New York

I have your letter, which I have read with interest. Please be assured that I shall be glad to favor any legislation which will tend to abolish lynching.

WM. P. CONNERY, JR., Massachusetts

I introduced in the House last session the companion to the Costigan-Wagner senate bill. I intend re-introducing it in the House early in January.

THOMAS F. FORD, California

Replying to your letter of November 14th: I favor and expect to vote for Federal legislation designed to put an end to lynching. I understand that the type of legislation which I favor will be incorporated in the Costigan-Wagner bill, to be introduced at the coming session of Congress.

DONALD C. DOBBINS, Illinois

I am going to do everything in my power to foster this bill and enlist the aid of my friends to push this measure through the House. I feel as you do, I am sure, that constituted laws should be placed on the statutes to take the place of lynching parties and that those who are guilty of organizing these parties in lynching should be punished by Federal law.

WILLIAM T. SCHULTE, Indiana

I do not know the provisions of the bill in question, hence am unable to state my stand in reference to the same. For your information, however, I might state that I am unalterably opposed to the practice of lynching, believing it to be un-American and without justice. I shall favor any measure which aims to prohibit the same provided it has no other objectionable features.

GEORGE A. DONDERO, Michigan

The bill reported to the Senate, which is the Wagner-Costigan bill, in an amended form, recognized the fact that a lynching, wherever it may occur under the American flag, is a crime against the Nation; that usually local legal processes are subservient to local influences and powerless to purge the wrong that is inflicted, and that if right is to be vindicated, it must be done by the long and strong arm of the Federal Government. As a Democrat, believing fundamentally in local self-government, I am strongly opposed, as a rule, to the Federal Government injecting itself into local affairs, but when there is no other way to protect society from foul and unspeakable crimes, I am in favor of the Federal Government taking hold.

ALFRED F. BEITER, New York

(*More Letters will appear Next Month*)

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

St. Louis Prepares For Annual Conference

The St. Louis branch which is to entertain the twenty-sixth annual conference of the Association the latter part of June, 1935, has concluded one of its most active years. The year began in January with the victory in the famous Joseph Matha case, in which a white former St. Louis policeman who had become the father of the child of a fifteen-year-old colored girl was forced to marry her and support the child. The branch had been pressing this case for more than two years and was not content when Matha resigned from the police force under fire. The case ended abruptly as Matha was about to go to trial on a charge of seduction. His lawyer produced a marriage license and the case was dropped.

The branch has been active also in local and national political campaigns, having distributed 20,000 hand bills during the August primary in opposition to Senator Roscoe Patterson and Representative John J. Cochran for the former's vote of Parker and the latter's upholding of segregation in the House restaurant. Both were defeated. Ten thousand hand bills were distributed opposing the school bond issue because of the failure of the school board to employ Negroes on construction work. The branch won a verdict and nominal damages in a bus discrimination case.

After the Christmas holidays the branch intends to plunge immediately into the preparations for entertainment of the twenty-sixth annual conference. This is the first time in the twenty-six years of the N.A.A.C.P. that the annual conference has come to St. Louis. It is the only large city in the country outside of the South, where the conference has never met. Branch officials are determined to make this first meeting in the second quarter-century of the N.A.A.C.P. a red-letter gathering. It is expected that the attendance in June will be one of the largest on record because of the central location of St. Louis.

H. D. Espy is president; R. P. Watts, secretary; Mrs. Ruth Rowland Wheeler, assistant secretary; John L. Procope, treasurer; and S. R. Redmond, is chairman of the executive committee.

Picket Crime Conference

Failure of the federal government to take any action in the Claude Neal lynching under the interstate kidnaping law and failure of Attorney General H. S. Cummings to include lynching on the program of the National Crime Conference held in Washington, D. C., December 10–13, led to the picketing of the conference on the opening day session, December 11, by the District of Columbia branch. The signs were prepared under the direction of Mrs. Virginia R. McGuire, president of the branch and A. S. Pinkett, secretary. They read:

"Gangsters get years, lynchers get cheers"

"Crime Conference should discuss lynching"

"83 women lynched since 1889"

"Lynch victims cannot talk, we speak for them"

"Follow the president, outlaw lynching"

"5068 lynchings in U.S.A., is this crime?"

The pickets were: Edward P. Lovett, George B. Murphy, Jr., Emmett Dorsey of Washington, D.C., and Roy Wilkins of the national office. Although the superintendent of police refused on December 10 after a lengthy conference with Mrs. McGuire and a committee to give a permit for the picketing and refused again on December 11, the branch decided to proceed and take chances on arrest.

Pickets were arrested just as the afternoon session was about to begin and taken to Number 3 police station in charge of Captain Edward J. Kelly where they were booked on charges of violating the sign law. Five dollars in collateral for each picket was posted by Charles H. Houston for the branch. Mr. Houston also took moving pictures of the entire proceedings.

The attorney general finally relented late December 11 and while not placing lynching on the program, extended an invitation to the Washington Bar Association (colored) to send five accredited delegates to the conference. These delegates had an opportunity from the floor to discuss lynching briefly in the regular discussion periods provided. Mr. Houston, who was one of the delegates, presented a resolution to the committee on action to suppress lynching.

America's Burning Shame

Forty-five human beings burned to death by mobs from 1919 to 1934, inclusive! 20 corpses burned by lynching mobs from 1919 to 1934, inclusive!

Roll of States

	Burned	Bodies Burned
Texas (1 woman)	12	4
Mississippi	10	–
Georgia	8	5
Florida	7	3
Arkansas	3	2
Louisiana	1	2
Alabama	1 (white)	–
Nebraska	1	–
Montana	1 (white)	–
Missouri	1	–
Maryland	–	1
S. Carolina	–	1
Kentucky	–	1
Virginia	–	1
	45	20

The states have not stopped lynching. Federal action is needed.

A Founder Dies

Mrs. Carrie Williams Clifford, one of the founders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, died at her residence, 939 S Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., November 10, 1934. Mrs. Clifford was a native of Chillicothe, Ohio, and was educated in Columbus, Ohio. She married the late William H. Clifford and lived in Cleveland, Ohio, until 1908 when she moved with her family to the District of Columbia. Mrs. Clifford was active in many civic movements, local and national and was the first president of the Ohio Federation of Colored Women. She was a vigorous worker in the Niagara movement and the N.A.A.C.P. Her interests included literary societies and clubs and music and the Little Theatre movement. She is survived by two sons, Jay W. Clifford and Maurice C. Clifford and three grandchildren. She was buried in Cleveland, Ohio.

Huge Anti-Lynching Meeting January 6

The annual mass meeting of the Association, held each year on a Sunday afternoon before the Monday annual business meeting, falls this year on January 6 and because of the necessity of stirring public opinion to support the federal anti-lynching bill, the meeting has been turned into a huge cooperative anti-lynching mass meeting. Many organizations, both white and colored and interracial in New York City and vicinity are cooperating and indications are

that an overflow crowd will attend.

The meeting will be held in Broadway Tabernacle at which the Reverend Allan Knight Chalmers is minister. A list of distinguished speakers have been invited to appear and special music will be offered by New York organizations.

It is hoped by the national office that this meeting will be the first of a nation-wide series of anti-lynching mass meetings throughout January at which speakers against mobs will appear and resolutions and telegrams will be adopted and sent to Washington. The national office urges also that generous collections be solicited for the financing of the fight for the enactment of the Costigan-Wagner Bill.

Marianna Lynching Report

Printed copies of the complete report on the Claude Neal lynching at Marianna, Fla., October 26, 1934 are available from the N.A.A.C.P. at the following prices: $1 a dozen; 50 for $4; 100 for $8.

Branch News

The **Grand Rapids, Mich.**, branch is conducting a protest against the establishment of a Jim Crow center for indigent colored men by the Kent County Relief Commission. The branch held a mass meeting November 25 and had a committee confer with the relief commissioners.

The **New Rochelle, N. Y.**, branch is continuing its efforts to have a colored member named to the board of education. Dr. Leon Scott is president of the branch.

The **Orange, N. J.**, branch appeared before the Orange City Commission and made formal request to the Department of Public Safety for the suspension of Patrolman Russell Spriggs pending an investigation of his fatal shooting of Samuel Henderson the night of October 28. Robert W. Yancey, the branch spokesman, told the Commission he had affidavits of witnesses which alleged Spriggs overstepped his duty in shooting Henderson.

A contribution of $25 to the Springfield Community Chest was voted by the **Springfield, Mass.**, branch. The following officers were re-elected: President, George C. Gordon; vice-president, John Thomas; secretary, Dr. Bowen; treasurer, Atty. Tavernier. Following is the board of directors, which also includes the above officers: Dr. DeBerry, Rev. E. L. Blake, Charles A. Whaling, Charles H. Jones, J. H. Higgins, Mrs. Jean D. Gordon. The assistant secretary will be Roland Sawyer. A committee was appointed to enlist

TH' LAW

By Jerry Doyle.

Courtesy Philadelphia Record

more white members in the Association's work and to secure one or two white members to serve on the executive committee. President Gordon also urged that a branch junior group be formed. The branch has 400 members.

The Women's Auxiliary of the **Morristown, N. J.**, branch held a card tournament November 24, the proceeds of which are to be used to finance a children's Christmas party during the holiday vacation. It has planned to invite children from Madison, Whippany, Boonton, and Collingswood as well as Morristown.

Mrs. F. Katherine Bailey of Marion was elected president of the Indiana state conference at Indiana for the seventh consecutive term. Other officers are: Mrs. L. M. Remey of Anderson, first vice-president; Mrs. Violet T. Lewis of Indianapolis, second vice-president; Miss Faith Brown of Kokomo, secretary; Dr. Lucian B. Meriwether of Indianapolis, treasurer, and R. L. Bailey of Indianapolis, chairman of the legal redress committee. Robert L. Vann, special assistant United States attorney general and Dr. Percy Julian of the faculty of DePauw University were speakers at the closing session. A resolution urging passage of the Costigan-Wagner bill was passed. The officers also voiced criticisms of discrimination in schools, orphanages, hospitals and the N. R. A. program.

Dr. Arthur L. Chapman was re-elected president of the **Rahway, N. J.**, branch November 12. Other officers are: First vice-president, Thomas Shell; second vice-president, Rev. J. W. P. Collier; secretary, Mrs. Thomas Shell; treasurer, Mrs. William P. Hammond; executive committee, Chauncey J. Samuels, John C. Shell, William P. Hammond; committee chairmen, membership, John D. Madden; finance, Dr. A. L. Chapman; publicity, Mrs. Thomas Shell; education, Mrs. A. L. Chapman; entertainment, Mrs. Luther Burns; legal redress, John C. Shell. Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin addressed a mass meeting of the branch on November 26, at which time the baby popularity contest closed. The branch also sent telegrams to President Roosevelt on the Florida lynching, asking for passage of a federal anti-lynching law.

Among the speakers who have addressed the programs and forums of the **Little Rock, Ark.**, junior branch are: President A. O. Wilson of Shorter College; Dean W. K. Payne of Dunbar College; the Reverend A. T. Clarke of the Congregational Church; Bishop E. T. Demby of the Episcopal Church; Reverend F. T. Guy of the Mt. Zion Baptist Church and Reverend Hollbrook of the Union A.M.E. Church. A. H. Bulliner is president of the branch and Miss Rosalia Torrence is secretary.

The **Wagoner County, Okla.**, branch held its annual meeting November 11 at Redbird, Okla., and designated Redbird as the headquarters for the County. Reports show that new members are still joining and that prospects for the new year are good. The second Sunday of each month was selected for the County branch meeting at Redbird. The following officers and members to the executive committee were elected: President, Reverend John Whitmore, Wagoner; vice-president, A. B. Brackeen, Porter; secretary, G. R. Scott, Clarksville; assistant secretary, Mrs. A. B. Brackeen, Porter; treasurer, Dan Tolbert, Porter; executive committee, R. L. Dedman, Clarksville; I. W. Lane, Redbird; Wheeler Parker, Porter; Abe Gunn, Tullahassee; Mrs. Gertrude Barnes, Wagoner; Mrs. E. O. Wiggins, Wagoner; Rev. John Whitmore, Wagoner; A. B. Brackeen, Porter; G. R. Scott, Clarksville. Mrs. E. O. Wiggins and Mrs. Gertrude Barnes were designated as the publicity committee and authorized to solicit subscriptions for THE CRISIS

The annual membership campaign of the **Brooklyn, N. Y.**, branch was held October 23 to November 5, under the direction of Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, regional field secretary of the association, who for the third consecutive year was successful in this effort. At the official closing the branch had secured $550.51 in memberships and subscriptions which was 50 cents more than was obtained in 1933 on the closing night. In this year's campaign over 85 CRISIS subscriptions were obtained which is unusually large when it is considered that the total number of memberships received at the closing had not reached 400. The final total was $593.51.

Major prizes for distinctive work in the campaign were awarded to Miss Lucille Cromer and A. Q. Martin who both received silver loving cups for having brought in the largest number of memberships and the greatest amount of money respectively, as individual workers. Additional prizes were awarded Arthur L. Funn for having brought in the second largest number of memberships and Mrs. Sarah Russell and Miss Inez Stevens who tied for third place. THE CRISIS was awarded to Miss Lucille Cromer for five years, Mr. Arthur L. Funn for three years and to Miss Inez Stevens and Mrs. Sarah Russell for one year. Honorable mention for unusual work in the campaign was given Dr. William R. R. Granger and Miss Marian Allen.

This year the branch in addition to using the pamphlet "Sweet Land of Liberty" published by the national office, printed a unique folder called "Stepping Stones on the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront in Brooklyn" which gave a brief summation of achievements of the branch for the year 1934. This folder was most instrumental in publicizing the work of the branch and in stimulating people to join.

The branch held a public meeting at the Fleet Street A.M.E. Zion church on Sunday, November 4, on which occasion the main speakers were Hubert T. Delany, commissioner of taxes and assessments, New York City, Congressman Emanuel Celler and Percy E. Newbie.

The **Brevard County, Fla.**, branch has aided its neighbor branches, in such cases as need whole hearted cooperation. In Volusia Co., a colored boy said to have killed a white woman, was taken from his county cell to the death cell at Ralford, Fla., and with aid from the local branches, ours included, the sentence was commuted, for further investigation.

Mr. Pickens spoke to the branch November 21 after meeting with the executive committee prior to the mass meeting and taking up with them branch and association problems. Following the mass meeting, a reception was given for him at the home of Mr. and Mrs. B. P. Warren.

The winner of the **St. Clairsville, O.**, branch baby contest was Betty Marie Rogers who brought in a total of $32.05. Second place was taken by Nina Frances Jackson who brought in $28.90.

The **Jersey City, N. J.**, branch was reorganized during December, at a meeting at the Calvary A.M.E. church. Officers elected were Rev. E. P. Dixon president; Dr. James R. Stroud first vice-president; Rev. J. Wesley Thomas second vice-president; Mrs. Julia Townes secretary; James H. Curry treasurer.

The **Newark, N. J.**, branch held a membership and "Penny a Head" Campaign resulting in $588, $508.75 memberships and $79.25 in the penny drive. Mrs. Grace B. Fenderson was awarded the loving cup given by the branch to the captain whose team reported the largest number of memberships. Robert H. Wheeler was awarded the cup presented by the branch secretary, John A. Jones, to the individual reporting the largest number of memberships. Subscriptions to THE CRISIS were won by the following: Robert H. Wheeler, Newark; Mrs. Minnie Hardaway, Newark; Miss A. D. Simkins, Newark; Mrs. Norman Olphin, Belleville.

Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, regional field secretary, was in charge of the campaign. At the annual meeting following the campaign, election of officers resulted as follows: Dr. C. O. Hilton president; Attorney Robert M. Yancey first vice-president; Robert H. Wheeler second vice-president; John A. Jones secretary; Mrs. Mildred Free treasurer.

The **Monterey, Calif.**, branch under the leadership of the Reverend Wellington Smith, president, led a successful fight against the re-election of Harry Nolan as district attorney on November 6. The branch endorsed his opponent who received practically all the Negro votes. The action of the branch was based upon Mr. Nolan's action in May, 1933 in arresting J. Woodard, a colored citizen and attempted to have him committed to an institution for the insane. The branch requested a jury trial, engaged an attorney and won the case. It contended that Mr. Nolan's action was based upon race prejudice.

The Reverend J. S. Patton was named president of the **Salt Lake City, Utah**, branch November 12. Mrs. Pearl Nance was elected vice-president; Mrs. Thelma Beridon, secretary; Mrs. L. V. Spencer, assistant secretary, and Mrs. Freddie Stanley, treasurer. Members of the executive board are: T. P. Langdon, chairman; Monroe H. Fleming, Mrs. Alice Leggroan, Mrs. A. J. Lewis, Mrs. Minnie Cole, D. H. Oliver, Andrew Johnson, the Reverend C. C. Spencer and J. Whittington. Mr. Fleming was also named chairman of the program committee. Albert and Howard Coleman of Park City, sons of Mr. and Mrs. Howard Coleman, were awarded first prize in the association baby contest.

The **Mobile, Ala.**, branch of which J. L. LeFlore is secretary, wrote the Birmingham, Ala., police department following the report of an alleged attack upon a white woman in that city, protesting against the statements given the press by the Birmingham police before they even made an arrest. The letter of the Mobile branch declared "We do feel that careful investigations and check-ups ought to be made before such news is given the press which often creates a mob sentiment at the expense of some mythical Negro criminal." The Mobile branch also, following the Claude Neal lynching, wrote Governor Miller of Alabama, requesting an investigation into the kidnaping of Neal from the Bruton, Ala., jail. The branch is continuing its campaign begun sometime ago to secure equal accommodations upon the railroads.

Books about Lynching

The standard books on lynching are:

ROPE AND FAGGOT by Walter White. Alfred A. Knopf Company, New York.

THE TRAGEDY OF LYNCHING by Arthur Raper. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C.

LYNCHING AND THE LAW by J. H. Chadbourn. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C.

These books may be found in up-to-date libraries and in book shops or may be ordered direct from the publishers.

Costigan-Wagner Bill

(*Continued from page* 11)

lynching, which investigation was made for the N.A.A.C.P. by a young southern white man. Single copies of this may be obtained from the N.A.A.C.P. free. Twelve copies may be purchased for $1.00; 50 copies for $4.00; 100 copies for $8.00. It is urged upon those who are interested that they purchase copies of this effective document to insure the widest possible distribution. Branches of the N.A.A.C.P. have been urged to purchase sufficient copies to place one in the hands of each editor, minister and other influential citizens in each of the 378 cities in which there are branches. Churches, fraternal organizations and individuals are urged to contribute as generously as they can to the cost of the campaign. It is a tragic circumstance that $5,000 for literature and other such expenses, especially in the coordination of public opinion and in keeping the cooperating organizations informed at the various stages of the fight, might conceivably have insured passage of the bill at the 1934 session of Congress. It is hoped that a generous response will be made to the appeal for funds to insure passage of the bill and the carrying out of a vigorous campaign in the Seventy-fourth Congress.

Football

(*Continued from page* 21)

(Morris Brown); Passmore (Kentucky State); Morris (Alabama State); Cohn (Southern U.); Mobley (Tuskegee); Clendening (S. C. State); Watkins (Langston).

HALFBACKS: Adams (Wiley); Simpson (Morgan); Junius (Wilberforce); Brown (Texas College); Hopson (Hampton); Johnson (West Va. State); Smith (Arkansas State); Everett (Florida A. & M.)

FULLBACKS: Troupe (Morgan); Edwards (Kentucky State); Anderson (Texas College); Colburn (Virginia Union); Flippin (Bluefield); Graham (A. and T.); Flowers (Prairie View); R. Perkins (Virginia State); Willis (Claflin); Starks (Lincoln, Mo.)

Out of the Kitchen

(*Continued from page* 15)

terested than those of the white reporters. She is a patron of many group enterprises and endeavors.

A woman of comprehensive culture, she is an omnivorous reader. Few actors or actresses can match her for her profound appreciation of a surprisingly wide range of subjects, or for knowledge of contemporary events. A symphony concert under the stars in Hollywood Bowl, or by the Los Angeles Philharmonic Society orchestra is never complete without her presence, due largely to an innate love of fine music encouraged and developed in her by a mother whose death just a year ago left her to carry on in the manner which has made possible her historic achievement in "Imitation of Life."

Lynchers' Rally Song

By Homer C. House

Shoot the nigger! Stab the nigger!
Tear his body limb from limb!
We're a brave, triumphant thousand
And there's only one of him.
Load the air with noble curses
Till our precious breath is spent:
Here is glory, glory, glory,—
That can never cost a cent.

For the sentiment of nations
We've a loud and coarse guffaw.
We can thumb our nose at justice
And the majesty of law:
Legislature, court, and Congress,
Governor and President,
While we help ourselves to glory,—
That can never cost a cent.

We are safe in lust of murder,
Safe to roar with foaming mouth,
Safe to glut with blood our gullets;
None can touch us, north or south:
For the skies are dripping largess
And the veil of heaven is rent,
While we wallow deep in glory,—
That can never cost a cent!

—Courtesy The Advance.

Books Received for Review

RACE RELATIONS by Willis D. Weatherford and Charles S. Johnson. D. C. Heath Company.

THE WHITE MONK OF TIMBUCTOO by William Seabrook. Harcourt Brace and Company.

LIFE ON THE NEGRO FRONTIER by George R. Arthur. Association Press.

HUMAN EXPLOITATION by Norman Thomas. Frederick A. Stokes Company.

CHRISTIAN STEWARDSHIP AND NEGRO BAPTISTS by W. L. Ransome. National Ministers' Institute.

IF TOMORROW COMES by Lewis Aaron Reitmeister. The Waldon Press.

INSTITUTIONAL ECONOMICS by John R. Commons. Macmillan Company.

THAT WHICH CONCERNETH ME, Sonnets and Other Poems by J. Harvey L. Baxter. Magic City Press.

JESS EDWARDS RIDES AGAIN by Alice Ward Smith. Christopher Publishing House.

DIVINE WHITE RIGHT by Trevor Bowen.

Branch News

Irvin C. Mollison of Chicago was re-elected president of the Illinois State Conference of branches at its annual meeting in Decatur November 17-18. N. J. Henderson of Bloomington was chosen as vice-president; L. J. Winston, Decatur, second vice-president; Edward Jacobs, Decatur, third vice-president; Mrs. Marie Gray Baker, Decatur, secretary; and M. Townsend of Lincoln, assistant secretary.

About 30 delegates from Evanston, Rockford, Springfield, Lincoln, Bloomington, Chicago and Decatur branches were present for the three business sessions in the Masonic hall, 251 East Macon street. Edwin B. Jourdain, Negro alderman from Evanston, was the main speaker at the public meeting in the Antioch Baptist church Sunday afternoon. His subject was "The Negro's Place in American Life." Commissioner W. E. Rugh, representing Mayor O. W. Smith, gave the address of welcome. Dr. E. S. Boyer of the department of religion in Millikin university spoke briefly on "Democracy."

A. C. MacNeal, president of the **Chicago, Ill.,** branch was a speaker November 4 at a mass meeting of the **Decatur, Ill.,** branch. His subject was "A New Approach to Americanism." The branch was successful in this protest against the segregated kindergarten which opened in Washington school the latter part of September. A committee of four persons from the branch met with the board of education and received the promise of all five members present that there would be no more segregation in kindergartens. All the present officers were re-elected and the executive board was enlarged because of the increased interest in the work.

The following persons comprise the executive staff and officers for the **Columbus, Ohio,** branch: C. E. Dickinson, Sr. president; Charles A. Warfield vice-president; Miss Florence Thomas secretary; Miss Irene Brooks assistant secretary; Mrs. Laura Scott treasurer. Other members of the board: Dr. Nolan A. Owens, Miss Catherine Claughton, Dr. J. K. Smith, Jesse Jackson, E. B. Paxton, L. A. Coles, Earl Hood, Lyman Kilgore, J. E. Bowman, Lloyd Johnson, Miss Yolanda

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Rosanne D. Charlton in *Pittsburgh Courier*.

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Barnett, Charles F. DeLoache, L. J. Faulkner, Russell Richman, Rev. J. F. Williams, Orval Peyton, Rev. Jacob Ashburn, Miss Ferne McClure, Baker Cunningham, George DeLoache, and Dr. W. C. Anderson. The branch expects to do its share toward the maintenance of a lobbyist in the Ohio general assembly and it is also nominating one of its members as a candidate for membership on the national board from Ohio. The Columbus sector sponsored a mass-meeting at the Masonic Temple, December 12. William Pickens was the speaker.

The Junior and College chapter of the Columbus N.A.A.C.P. was host to the juniors from throughout the state of Ohio, December 16 in conjunction with the state board meeting.

Personal Receipts

Beginning with December 15 and running throughout the month of January, 1935, Miss Mary White Ovington, treasurer of the N.A.A.C.P., is issuing a special personal receipt card containing her photograph and autograph to all persons who make contributions to the work of the Association.

(Because of the annual elections and reports of the year's work, the branch news was very heavy and some of it had to be held over for the February issue)

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